

THE ANTWERP POLYGLOT BIBLE (1572): VISUAL CORPUS, NEW WORLD
'HEBREW-INDIAN' MAP, AND THE RELIGIOUS CROSSCURRENTS OF IMPERIAL
SPAIN

By

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To Adam and Maggie, my *magna opera*:
My life ambition and singular goal has been to serve you well, and with my whole heart.
I wrote this for you. I hope you like it.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572) sponsored by Philip II of Spain (r.1556-1598) comprised one of the most important book publishing projects in the later sixteenth century. It is richly illustrated with copperplate engravings, and includes the first-known double-hemispheric world map in a bible. Cartographically accurate in 1572, the map shows the migration of Noah's progeny to the New World, illustrating the theory that Amerindians were descendants of ancient Hebrews. The Polyglot also presents among the first-known Netherlandish examples of engraved pictorial titlepages in a liturgical work. This oversize eight-volume bible was international in scope and grand in scale, and involved the collaboration of Europe's leading antiquarians, orientalist, theologians and Hebraists. While recent scholarship on the Polyglot focuses on the singular contributions, erudition, ambitions and confessional allegiances of the personalities involved in its production, my research situates the Polyglot Bible within northern Europe's complex Reformation-era print culture, and argues that the world map is best understood in the context of maps, illustrations and typography that comprise a visual program extended across the Bible's eight volumes. The Polyglot was first and foremost a *Biblia regia*, a monument to Philip, King of "the Spains, Jerusalem & etc.," whose consummate challenge in

administering his knotty web of dominions flowed from its ethnic and religious diversity. Above all, this “Most Catholic Monarch” sought religious hegemony in his pluralistic empire, modeled after the universal Church. Philip intended his Polyglot to provide a standard for authoritative bibles published in the original languages, and to compete with the German bibles flooding the European book market. I locate the Polyglot within northern Europe and Spain’s printing and map culture, and argue that the theme and structure of the Polyglot’s visual material was informed by Philip’s geopolitical worldview, which employed spatial relationships as a mode of critical inquiry unique to maps. Philip saw Madrid as the New Jerusalem, with the Escorial as the new Temple, and promoted this idea by constructing an ancient Hebrew patrimony for his empire. To achieve this, Philip became a self-fashioned Josiah/Solomon/Aaron, protector of divine truth, architect and priest, whose *Biblia regia* united the disparate nations in one *Yglesia universal*, a grand imperial scheme iconographically and compositionally staged across the eight volumes of the Polyglot, and summarized on its world map.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Beyond its service to God and benefit to the Catholic Church, this bible will bring great glory to Your Majesty's name, esteem and reputation throughout the world, remaining so for many centuries, because this bible will be bought by Latin Christians, Greek Christians and Syrian Christians, who can read the Arabic, and by Jews, who can read the Hebrew . . . and all will appreciate the great majesty and benefit of this work.

—Benito Arias Montano¹

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible

Scholars agree that the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572) constituted one of the most ambitious and important publishing projects undertaken in later sixteenth-century northern Europe.² Various known as the *Biblia sacra* of 1569; the *Biblia de Montano*; the Plantin Polyglot, and the *Biblia regia*, the Antwerp Polyglot Bible is a monumental work, both physically and philologically, juxtaposing five ancient languages (also French, Italian and Spanish) and dozens of maps and illustrations, across eight massive volumes.³ It was sponsored by King Philip II of Spain (r.1556-1598), edited by his “religious, faithful and erudite” court chaplain, librarian and advisor Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598), and published in the Antwerp printing house of Christopher Plantin (1520-1589).⁴ Its production involved the collaboration of

¹ Benito Arias Montano in a letter to Philip II dated 1567 in support of the Spanish crown's sponsorship of the new polyglot bible proposed by Plantin: “*Demás del servicio de Dios y provecho de la Yglesia universal, resulta también de aquí una gran gloria al real nombre de Su Magestad y a la estimación y reputación de su persona, la qual se estenderá por todo el mundo, y permanecerá por muchos siglos, porque este libro será comprado de christianos latinos, y de christianos griegos, y de christianos syros, que entienden las lenguas hebrea y chaldeia y syriaca, y de todos los hebreos, que se han de afficionar a la magestad y gran provecho de la obra.*” MS. Estoc. ff. 6-7; Baldomero Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota de Amberes en la Correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano*, (Huelva: University of Huelva, 1998), 72.

² Such was the consensus of historians present at the colloquium, “Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598): Biblical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance,” Princeton University, May 13-14, 2011. The date for the Antwerp Polyglot is variously given between 1569 and 1572.

³ The average page size is 28 x 42 cm.

⁴ Philip in a letter to the Duke of Alba dated 1568, explaining his choice of Montano to supervise the production of

Europe's leading antiquarians, orientalists and theologians, who embraced (perhaps clandestinely) a range of confessional allegiances and tendencies. Among the Polyglot's collaborators were Catholics, Calvinists, Familists, and Christian kabbalists, who practiced a blend of Christianity and Jewish mysticism.⁵

The history of the Antwerp Polyglot's production is well known. Plantin conceived the idea of a new polyglot bible in 1565, to update the famous Spanish Complutensian Polyglot of 1521, dedicated to the "Catholic Monarchs" Isabella and Ferdinand (r.1474-1516), and initially sought Protestant German patronage.⁶ With the Antwerp Iconoclasm of 1566, and rising religious tensions in northern Europe, Plantin solicited the support of King Philip in an effort to save his press from closure on grounds of heterodoxy.⁷ Plantin was fortunate to have a good relationship with Philip's secretary, Gabriel de Zayas (1526-1593) and Plantin's correspondence to the king flowed through him. Plantin was known in Spain as a skillful printer in possession of Hebrew type, a resource he had acquired from the family of the famous Venetian printer of Jewish books, Daniel Bomberg (1483-1553). After consulting his advisors including Montano, Philip approved the plan to patron a new polyglot. The initial agreement stipulated that Plantin would provide the king with 129 editions printed on paper and 13 royal presentation copies printed on vellum; in return, Philip granted Plantin a monopoly on all printed Spanish liturgical

the Polyglot: "*Beneditto Arias Montano, nuestro criado y capellán, de cuya virtud, religión, fidelidad y erudiçión,*" MS. Estoc. ff. 122-123; Rosendo, 85.

⁵ See Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007). Wilkinson identified the group known as "Christian kabbalists," and uses "kabbalists" rather than "Kabbalists," to denote the problematic application of the title. For this reason, "kabbalist" is used here and hereafter.

⁶ Bernard Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 45-46.

⁷ Ibid.

books as well as the title “Royal Typographer.”⁸ Plantin was worried about rumors of his Protestant ties and his association with the spiritualist group, the Family of Love, so he secured a letter of recommendation for the king, and validated in writing his lifelong orthodoxy and devotion to the true faith.⁹ Satisfied with the arrangements, Philip sent Montano to Antwerp in 1568 to serve as editor-in-chief, administer payments, and supervise the Polyglot’s orthodoxy.

Montano was a Benedictine cleric admitted to the prestigious Order of Santiago, Philip’s chaplain and librarian. He was a theologian and expert in oriental languages, particularly Hebrew, which he had acquired during his education in the 1550s at the progressive Hebrew school, University of Alcalá de Henares. He was also an “old” Christian, known for his opposition to the Lutheran heresy.¹⁰ With the Protestant Dutch revolt, the aggressive military strategies of the widely hated Governor General of the Netherlands, the Duke of Alba (1507-1582), and the implementation of the *Limpieza de Sangre* to locate “new” Christians in positions of authority, this was a period of heightened religious and political tensions in Europe and unprecedented conservatism in Spain. Plantin was initially leery of this Spanish censor Philip had installed in his printing house, but the two quickly became trusted colleagues. Montano enthusiastically incorporated himself into the circle of scholars assembled by Plantin, and praised them for their erudition and devotion to the Catholic faith.¹¹

⁸ Adrian Schenker, “The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London: 1568-1658,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, 2008), 775.

⁹ See Rekers, 47. The Family of Love was a northern European spiritualist movement that promoted knowledge of God via personal, mystical experience.

¹⁰ Ibid., 2-3.

¹¹ Ibid., 48. For Montano’s ecumenicism and notions of friendship, see for example F. Perez Castro, “La ‘Biblia regia’ de Arias Montano, monumento de ecumenismo humanista en la España del siglo XVI,” in F. Perez Castro and L. Voet, *La Biblia Políglota de Amberes* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1973), 11-29, and E. Fernández Tejero, “Cipriano de la Huerca, Luis de León y Benito Arias Montano: Tres Hombres, tres talentos,” in

Plantin had begun work on the Polyglot before he sought Philip's patronage, and the bible's collaborators were well established by the time Montano arrived. They included a group of experts in oriental and ancient languages, whom Robert Wilkinson describes as "Christian kabbalists": Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, pupil of the well-known orientalist Guillaume Postel (1510-1581); Andreas Masius, and Jean Boulaese. These linguists were interested in uncovering the mystical truths hidden in ancient Hebrew and oriental texts, and their methods were borrowed from Jewish Kabbalah. Other Polyglot scholars included Plantin's son-in-law, Franciscus Raphelengius (1539-1597), who was retained to amend Xantes Pagnino's (1470-1541) modern Latin translation of scripture, which Plantin had intended to replace the traditional Vulgate. Masius contributed the Chaldean (Aramaic) paraphrase of the Targum that was juxtaposed with the Latin, Greek and Hebrew in the Polyglot's Old Testament.¹²

The official title of the Antwerp Polyglot as given on the work's titlepage is: *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, Latine*. As a polyglot, it was organized so the various languages, taken from original sources, could be viewed side-by-side on the same page opening. The Polyglot took about four years to complete, from 1568, the year of Montano's arrival in Antwerp, to 1572, and 1200 copies were printed.¹³ The final product is a greatly expanded and a much-altered interpretation of the Complutensian. Significantly, both Plantin and Montano wanted to replace the Vulgate, which was considered obsolete by Hebraists and biblicists, with the new Pagnino translation. Philip adamantly refused. Redundant layers of supervision were employed by the Spanish crown to confirm the orthodoxy of every page of the Polyglot.

L. Gómez Canseco, ed., *Anatomía del Humanismo: Benito Arias Montano 1598-1998* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), 181-200.

¹² Reker, 63; The Inquisition criticized Masius' Targum paraphrase as it relied solely on rabbinical sources.

¹³ Schenker, 776.

Theologians from the University of Louvain were retained as censors, and Montano regularly sent them proof sheets for review. Philip also insisted that Montano place his signature and monogram at the end of almost every book of the Polyglot, thus providing a seal of approval.

Physically, the Antwerp Polyglot is a monumental work. It comprises eight volumes of about 700 pages each. The Old and New Testaments make up four and a half of the eight volumes, while the other three and a half volumes comprise thousands of pages of material beyond the sacred text. The Polyglot is richly illustrated with copperplate etchings, and includes titlepages, frontispieces, prologues, recommendations, mandates, letters from Philip to his dominions, the Pope's *imprimatur*, dictionaries, a *Hebraicorum Bibliorum*, a Greek New Testament, a Syriac New Testament, the new Pagnino Latin translation, illustrations, treatises, architectural drawings, maps of the Holy Land, and a world map. Apart from editing the whole work, Montano was solely responsible for volume eight, the last volume of a three-volume apparatus, the *Sacri Apparatus Partium*, which contained the world map, maps of the Holy Land, Temple illustrations and architectural drawings.

The Polyglot's eighth volume has traditionally received the most scholarly attention. This is due in part to Montano's singular authorship of this volume, together with the availability of his copious correspondence during his tenure in Antwerp as the Polyglot's editor. This is also the volume that incorporates the maps, their inclusion being remarkable for the time period. Protestant bibles often included maps, but Catholic bibles only rarely did, and Spanish bibles never did.¹⁴ Cartographically accurate for 1572, the double-hemispheric world map, referred to here as the "New World 'Hebrew-Indian' map," elucidates Montano's argument, put forth in his

¹⁴ See Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bible 1500-1600* (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A, 1991).

“Phaleg” treatise, that the Amerindians were descendants of post-diluvial Hebrews who migrated to the Americas via an Asian land bridge.¹⁵ Numbers on the map key correspond to the families of Shem, Japheth and Ham, as delineated in the map keys, with settlements situated in the Old and New Worlds. The Polyglot also includes Holy Land maps, both pre- and post-conquest, which illuminate Montano’s treatises on “Canaan” and “Caleb.” Holy Land maps were a common feature in sixteenth-century Geneva bibles, but never seen in Spanish Catholic bibles of the period.¹⁶ The average cost of the Polyglot was 300 guilders (equivalent to a year’s wages for a laborer), and the most precious royal presentation copies, which Philip gave as gifts to the princes of Europe, were printed on vellum.¹⁷ Of the 1200 printed, 600 copies were ultimately in circulation, as the rest may have been lost at sea.¹⁸

Despite Montano’s assurances to Philip of the certain glory the Polyglot would bring to his crown, as a theological and economic enterprise, the legacy of the Polyglot is problematic. This

¹⁵ For the Polyglot Indian, see Isaías Lerner, “Teorías de Indios: los orígenes de los pueblos del continente americano y la Biblia Políglota de Amberes (1568-1573),” *Colonial Latin American Review* 19 (2010): no. 2, 231-245. For Montano’s Ophir or “double” Peru, see James Romm, “Biblical History and the Americas: The Legend of Solomon’s Ophir, 1492-1591” in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450-1800*, eds. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, 27-46. (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001).

¹⁶ Zur Shalev notes that these maps are “the most important representation of biblical geography produced in the later sixteenth century before (1590)”;

see Zur Shalev, “Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Aria Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible,” *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 63. For more on sacred geography see Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: The British Library, 2006), 288-291.

¹⁷ For more on Plantin’s paper and the material production of the Polyglot, see “Type Material” in Lèon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, and New York: Abner Schram, 1969-1972).

¹⁸ There are varying accounts of the number lost at sea. According to Rodney Shirley, “the greater number” were lost at sea in route from the Netherlands to Spain. According to Albert van der Heide, 600 copies were in circulation, while the rest were lost at sea on their way to Italy. E. Fernández Tejero notes that a number of the Complutensian Polyglot bibles were lost at sea on their way from Spain to Italy, which sounds suspiciously like the Van der Heide account. See Rodney W. Shirley, *Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472-1700* (London: The Holland Press Limited, 1984), 147; Van der Heide, *Hebraica Veritas, Christopher Plantin and the Christian Hebraists* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Museum/Print Room, 2008), 89; and Fernández Tejero, “Benedicto Ariae Montani...De Mazzoreth ratione atque usu,” in *Biblia y Humanismo Textos, talentos y controversias del siglo XVI*, eds. N. Fernández Marcos and E. Fernández Tejero (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1997), 156.

became apparent shortly after the time of its completion in 1572. Montano was criticized for denying the authority of the Vulgate, which he openly considered scholastic and obsolete, and for relying too heavily on Jewish and heretical sources. Montano's Hebraist biblicism was associated with a Protestant literalist approach to scripture.¹⁹ The censors considered the Polyglot's Apparatus too "bulky" and an unnecessary addition to the bible. Called a *judaizante* by his detractors, Montano became a target of the Spanish Inquisition and was forced to defend the Polyglot in Rome.²⁰ While Gregory XIII ultimately approved the Polyglot's circulation, it is believed he did so because he needed Philip's support in his campaign against the Turks, and also because the massive edition had already been sent to press. Despite these difficulties, in 1575 Montano reminded Philip of "the honor and glory" he should receive throughout Christendom because of his Royal Bible, and that it was "greatly admired and envied in foreign countries."²¹

Research on the Antwerp Polyglot Bible has tended to focus on the individual contributions and personalities of Montano, Plantin and the diverse range of hands that contributed to the translation of the sacred text. As scholars have noted, there is no in-depth or comprehensive treatment of the Polyglot in any language.²² This is not surprising, given the great size and scope of the Polyglot, and such an undertaking would at any rate need to be collaborative. The illustrations and maps in volume eight are typically examined as an autonomous group of works, structurally and intellectually isolated in the scholarly Apparatus—

¹⁹ As a Hebraist, Montano believed that spiritual truths were hidden within the arcane Hebrew text. As a biblicist, Montano believed these truths could be uncovered by a close, literal reading of scripture.

²⁰ This persecution would come to a head with the posthumous ban of Montano's works in the Spanish Index of 1607.

²¹ Rekers, 61.

²² Wilkinson, ix.

and never critically examined in relation to *all* the visual material (titlepages, frontispieces, letters and historiated initials) in volumes one through seven. The illustrations in volumes one through seven are rarely presented in their proper order or in relation to one another, which can lead to misinterpretation. The images referred to as “illustrations” (figural frontispieces) have also been treated separately.²³ The majority of current Antwerp Polyglot literature is historical, exegetical or philological. There does exist an excellent art-historical catalogue that critically examines the Polyglot images, but it includes only a sampling.²⁴ In general, the Polyglot’s complicated structure and range of hands has led scholars to conceptualize both the bible’s text and illustrations in autonomous parts.

The goal of this research is to identify and isolate the Polyglot’s visual program, and to suggest that this program, which extends across all eight volumes, promotes Philip’s geopolitical worldview, as summarized by the Polyglot’s world map. The Polyglot’s double-hemispheric world map, when understood in context, can be described as an imperial map. This argument will be supported by a critical catalogue of over fifty images from the Polyglot in chronological order, with special attention paid to the world map.²⁵ This contribution will not only be an important resource for students of the Polyglot, but also shed light on the enigmatic nature of this visually complex eight-volume work.

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible was first and foremost a *Biblia regia*, a monument to Philip, and as a reflection of his imperial aims, the pictorial program served a vital function.²⁶ Philip,

²³ Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in the Sixteenth-Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁴ James Clifton and Walter S. Melion, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlanish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, exhib. cat. (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2009).

²⁵ High-resolution digital images from the Antwerp Polyglot Bible courtesy of The Scheide Library, Princeton.

²⁶ This view is promoted by Bowen and Imhof, but they do not elaborate; see “A Royal Polyglot Bible” in Bowen and Imhof, 84-102.

King of Jerusalem (a title he inherited) sought to present himself as an Old Testament monarch and to promote Spain as a New Jerusalem, with the Escorial as the new Temple of Solomon.²⁷ This political and religious self-fashioning is apparent throughout the Polyglot's visual material, which binds Philip's agenda to the authority of the sacred text. As King Josiah who restores the book of the Law, Philip intended the Polyglot to serve as a paradigm for printed bibles published in the original languages, and to compete with the Protestant bibles flooding the sixteenth-century European book market.

This research will attempt to locate the Polyglot, as a product of Plantin's publishing house, in Antwerp's dynamic print and map culture. The Polyglot's structure and iconography, as a reflection of Philip's diverse empire, can be associated with the manipulation of spatial relationships as a mode of critical inquiry unique to maps and cartographical material. In a world made bigger overnight by the voyages of discovery, conquest and exploration, the expression of spatial relationships as reflected in the cultural habits of mapping and collecting, became an important phenomenon that helped sixteenth-century Europeans conceptualize *their* new world. The New World 'Hebrew-Indian' map can be seen as an imperial map, an idealized cosmography of Philip's Spanish empire, which at its height, stretched around the globe.²⁸ Beaver has demonstrated Philip's attempt to construct an ancient Hebrew patrimony for Spain, thus legitimizing Spain's authority as the New Jerusalem. This research suggests the Polyglot's world map extends that authority from Europe to the New World.

²⁷ Adam Beaver, "A Holy Land for the Catholic Monarchy: Palestine in the Making of Modern Spain, 1469-1598," PhD diss. (Harvard University, 2008), *passim*. For more on Escorial architecture see George Kubler, *Building the Escorial* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 3-113.

²⁸ For maps, texts, and images in Renaissance cosmographies, see Denis E. Cosgrove, "Images of Renaissance Cosmography, 1450-1650," in *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 55-98.

Philip used maps in an attempt to “shape the nascent nation-state, to harness the competitive forces of nationalism and regionalism.”²⁹ Administratively, Philip employed a Ptolemaic chorographic-geographic modality, which was the means by which he structured and categorized his imperial vision³⁰. In Philip’s cartographic application of this construction, local views and regional maps were used alongside continental maps. In doing this, ethnographically and culturally diverse regional dominions such as cities (represented by regional maps and views), are bound together by a single sovereign and kingdom—Spain (represented by national and continental maps). A rhetoric of geography is at play here, an administrative tactic popularized by Philip, who famously moved his country’s capital to Madrid, the epicenter and “navel” of Spain. The Antwerp Polyglot’s visual program, when viewed as a body of work, reflects this chorographic-geographic modality. The Polyglot employs both regional and continental maps of the ancient world, as well as ethnographic markers in the form of textual cues (eg. ‘exotic’ script) that define both the size of Philip’s empire, its plurality, and also its ancient Hebrew patrimony. Above all, Philip sought religious hegemony in his culturally and ethnically diverse realm, which spanned multiple continents. This chorographic diversity is unified in the double-hemispheric geographic world map.

Scholars describe the Antwerp Polyglot Bible as an enigmatic work that defies summary explanation. Why, for example, would the Polyglot so prominently favor Masoretic Hebrew during a period of unprecedented antisemiticism in Spain, which led to the institution of the *Limpieza de Sangre*? The Polyglot’s contributors were all strict biblicists. That is, they had little

²⁹ Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 1. See also “Empire’s attributes,” in Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art*, exhib. cat. (London: The British Library, 2010), 36-37.

³⁰Mundy, *passim*.

regard for the Church Fathers and medieval scholasticism as a hermeneutical model, but instead preferred a close reading of the scriptural texts in their original languages. Montano favored Hebrew, the *Hebraica veritas*, above the other ancient languages, as a foundation for natural philosophy, and consulted rabbinical literature including the Talmud (contemporaneously on the Spanish Index of banned books) for clarification of the sacred text.³¹ Of the Polyglot's eight volumes, the Old Testament takes up three and one half of the first four. Half of volume seven comprises a *Biblia Hebraica*, printed from right to left, including Montano's Latin prologue, also printed from right to left. Of the eight volumes, four are Hebrew books, not to mention the Hebrew dictionary and grammars, found in volume six. Visually and textually, Hebrew dominates the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, which would have required Philip's (at least tacit) approval. The Polyglot's Hebrew text, when associated with its visual program, served to authenticate Spain's Hebrew pedigree, and to validate Philip, King of Jerusalem, as the new Josiah, who preserves the sacred Word, the *Hebraica veritas*.

Philip promoted himself as both king and priest, and his conflicts with Rome were well known.³² He was consummately at odds with the papacy, and disseminated a version of Catholicism that was fiercely conservative and staunchly nationalistic. The frontispiece of the Polyglot is dedicated to Philip as Josiah, who gives his Polyglot to the nations. Montano considered the Polyglot a summary of natural philosophy, and this encyclopedic bible, with its original scriptural sources, dictionaries and treatises, helped the Christian to know God by uncovering the arcane meanings hidden in the Hebrew text. The primacy of ancient Hebrew—

³¹ The Talmud is listed in Philip's personal copy of the *The Index* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1570); The Newberry Library, Chicago collection; information on provenance taken from the Newberry curatorial files and evident by inscription inside front cover.

³² Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 47.

and by extension the ancient Hebrews—is evident throughout the Polyglot’s visual program. For Philip the king and priest, the Old World and the New World, the Old Testament and the New Testament, were united in the transformative sacrament of baptism. Baptism as a bridge between these two worlds is literally expressed by the Polyglot’s full-page illustration of the *Baptism of Christ*, physically located between the Old and New Testaments at the beginning of volume five, a bridge in the literal middle of the Polyglot. The conflation of old and new, past and present is thus linked to Spanish orthodoxy and hegemony of empire. In this way, Philip is the ancient Josiah, whose *Biblia quinquelingüe* unites the disparate nations in one *Yglesia universal*, summarized in the present on the ancient “new” world map.

The Antwerp Polyglot is a Spanish Catholic bible published in Antwerp, which was a hotbed of Protestant revolt. It was made by Hebraists and Protestant sympathizers, but sponsored by an ultra-conservative king who supported unprecedented anti-Semitic policies. It is a royal Catholic bible that has many of the characteristics of a Protestant edition, including maps and temple plans. It also favors the Hebrew language above the Vulgate. How does one approach such a subject? In order to examine the Polyglot’s visual corpus within its cultural context, it is important to consider a range of historical trends and geographic locations. These should include the geo-political significance of printing and mapmaking in late sixteenth-century Antwerp and Madrid. It is also important to understand the role of maps as repositories of politically charged ideologies, and to see how such cartographical language was used by both Philip *and* the Dutch rebels. Ironically, the religious conflicts in Antwerp that led to the preeminence of printing and mapmaking as artistic products, were the same cultural forces that allowed for the production of the king’s Polyglot. In a similar way, the biblical literalism and Catholic Hebraicism that was condemned for its ties to Protestantism, also allowed for the

“authentic” Hebrew character of the Polyglot. This authenticity was favored by Philip as it served to promote his title as King of Jerusalem.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation includes five chapters total. Chapter 1 consists of this introductory material. Chapter 2 is titled “Locating the Polyglot in Antwerp and Madrid: Printing, Mapmaking, and the Geography of Political Discourse.” This chapter presents the cultural context that supports the primary argument of this research: the Antwerp Polyglot Bible’s visual program reflects Philip’s worldview and religious/political agenda. Locating the Polyglot in Antwerp, this chapter will explore cultural habits associated with global collections and contemporary “map-mania.” Both Montano and Plantin were shaped by northern European printing and mapmaking culture circa 1570, and drew from its vibrant sources. Later sixteenth-century modes of representation, including “stock” biblical illustrations, are central to the iconographical program of the Polyglot, which were presented in richly crafted and detailed copperplate illustrations and maps. Likewise, the play of spatial relationships inherent to maps informed the structure of Polyglot. Locating the Polyglot in Madrid, this chapter will also explore the nature of Philip’s chorographic-geographic imperial vision. This play of spatial relationships reflected political tensions throughout his vast dominions, and is mimicked in the Polyglot. To unify his realm, Philip promoted himself as the new Josiah/Solomon/Aaron. This self-fashioning is apparent in the visual corpus and world map of the Polyglot, and also in Philip’s designs for the Escorial.

Chapter 3, “A Catalogue of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible’s Visual Program,” presents a critical catalogue of the Polyglot’s visual material in chronological order, including the key sections of text that are pictorially relevant. Plantin’s use of elaborate Hebraic title pages in the Old Testament section, for example, mimics a Masoretic division. Scholars have shown how the

Polyglot's frontispieces served an exegetical purpose, and also reflect Montano's antiquarian interests. This research proposes an additional meaning—that the Polyglot's visual program, which is staged across all eight volumes, can be associated with Philip's geo-political concerns.

Chapter 4, "The New World 'Hebrew-Indian' Map as a Reflection of Late Sixteenth-Century Religious Crosscurrents," explores the contextual significance of the world map in the Polyglot's visual corpus, and explains its enigmatic inclusion in this Catholic bible. Philip's creation of a Hebrew patrimony for Spain was extended to the New World with the placement of Hebrew settlements in New Spain and Peru. This world map, therefore, can be seen as an imperial map, a "key" map that binds Philip's unwieldy empire together. Cartographic accuracy, therefore, was imperative in what would have been recognized by audiences as an up-to-date map of the New World. A model for this map is provided, which was taken from an Italian edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (1461). The source for Montano's world map has long puzzled scholars and is presented here for the first time.

Chapter 5 is titled "Legacy and Shifting Engagement: Deconstructing the Polyglot." This concluding chapter explores the ways in which the Polyglot maps and illustrations were viewed by different audiences, with Polyglot editions that had been deconstructed or rebound. The Polyglot's Apparatus lost its Catholic "privilege" in 1576, and was later published separately by Calvinist convert Raphelengius. In Catholic collections, conversely, the Apparatus was removed entirely, leaving an abstracted version of the original edition in five volumes.

Literature Review

Antwerp Polyglot Bible scholarship traditionally treats the work from either Montano's point of view or Plantin's. Bernard Reker's *Benito Arias Montano* (1972) is the standard introduction to Montano, and concerns the primary events of Montano's life. Rekers describes the Polyglot project as a disaster, and focuses on the persecution Montano received by its

publication. He also discusses both Plantin and Montano's involvement with the heretical group, the Family of Love (Familists).³³ For Plantin's printing house, Voet's *The Golden Compasses* (1969-1972) is the principle monograph and is comprehensive in scope.³⁴ The first in-depth biography of Plantin, Colin Clair's *Christopher Plantin* (1960) has stood the test of time, and remains a basic source for students of Plantin. Clair describes Plantin as having transformed the publishing industry in northern Europe, and highlights his important role as a typographer of foreign-language books. Like Reker on Montano, Clair includes entire chapters devoted exclusively to the Polyglot and also the Family of Love.³⁵

For Montano's important role as a leading Hebraist in Philip's court, Adam Beaver's dissertation, "A Holy Land for the Catholic Monarchy: Palestine in the Making of Modern Spain, 1469-1598," (2008) is an important new study. Beaver describes Montano as a key figure in Philip's "institute of biblical antiquity" which sought to transform Spain into a New Jerusalem.³⁶ An important critical and often-cited source for Montano's Polyglot maps is Zur Shalev, "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Aria Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible," (2003). Shalev demonstrates the ways in which for Montano, the Polyglot maps served as a primary vehicle for antiquarian expression. Missing here is Montano's close relationship to the Spanish crown, including, for example, the items he acquired for Philip during his stay in Rome. A newly released publication by Shalev, *Sacred*

³³ Rekers, *Montano*, 1972. See also Luis Gómez Canseco, ed., *Anatomía del humanismo. Benito Arias Montano, 1598-1998* (Huelva: Diputación y Universidad de Huelva, 1998); Vicente Becares Botas, *Arias Montano y Plantino: el libro flamenco en la España de Felipe II* (León: Universidad Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1999).

³⁴ Lèon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, and New York: Abner Schram, 1969-1972).

³⁵ Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London: Plantin Publishers, 1960).

³⁶ Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2008.

Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550-1700 (2012), includes his earlier article on Montano's antiquarianism as a chapter, but also presents a broader treatment on the cultural role of *geographia sacra* in early modern Europe.³⁷ Shalev and Charles Burnett have also recently released the long-anticipated *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance* (2011), an important source for cartography of the period.³⁸ Early modern scholarly interest in Ptolemy sets the stage for sixteenth-century cartography, and this interest can be directly associated with the Polyglot world map.

For maps in sixteenth-century bibles, the authority remains Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morely Ingram's, *Maps in Bibles* (1991); the authors demonstrate that maps in bibles can be associated with the Protestant Reformation, and specifically, the Geneva bible editions. For the history of Renaissance cartography, David Woodward, ed., *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3 (The University of Chicago Press, 2007), is the most comprehensive and up to date. Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof in *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (2008) provide a critical discussion of some of the Polyglot illustrations (but not the maps or Temple plans), from the point of view of Plantin's biography; Bowen and Imhof see the Polyglot as a royal project, but do not extend that interpretation, as a general argument, to the bible's iconography.

For an introduction to the Polyglot, the principle work is Federico Perez Castro and L. Voet, *La Biblia Poliglota de Amberes* (1973). Here, Castro describes the Polyglot as a "monument to ecumenical humanism."³⁹ For an updated, critical study of the Hebraist works

³⁷ Leiden and Boston: Brill.

³⁸ London and Turin: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Editore.

³⁹ Castro and Voet, *La Biblia Poliglota*, 11: "La 'Biblia Regia' de Arias Montano, monumento de ecumenismo humanista en la España del siglo XVI."

published by Plantin and his *milieu*, Albert van der Heide's, *Hebraica Veritas* (2008) is very important. It includes a few of the Polyglot pages and a discussion of the published Hebrew literature associated with Plantin. Wilkinson's *Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (2007) explores the important philological contributions of the northern European Christian kabbalists who collaborated on the Polyglot translations. Wilkinson's book sheds light on the broader cultural phenomenon of Christian Hebraicism in this period, and like Van der Heide, highlights the important role *Hebraica veritas* played in sixteenth-century Northern European intellectual thought.

Bart A. Rosier's, *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century* (1997) is a comprehensive source for Netherlandish bible prints.⁴⁰ Rosier reveals that of all the bibles produced in the region during this period, only Plantin's Vulgate edition of 1583, which utilized copperplate etchings rather than the standard woodcuts, includes a complete set of illustrations throughout the Old Testament and New, organized as a series. The most recent art-historical catalogue to include the Polyglot images is James Clifton and Walter S. Melion's *Scripture for the Eyes* (2009). The catalogue presents an exegetical interpretation of most of the Polyglot's illustrations and one of the Holy Land maps. Clifton and Melion promote a close reading of scripture in order to understand the illustrations, and also rely on Plantin's own description of the prints in his essay titled "*Tabularum in Regii Bibliis depictarum brevis explicatio*," from volume I of the Polyglot. For the Polyglot's frontispieces and architectural drawings, Sylvaine Hänsel's *Der Spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) und die Kunst* (1991) is an important source.⁴¹ It includes detailed descriptions of many of the Polyglot's

⁴⁰ Rosier, *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustrations in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Chris F. Weterings, 2 vols. (Leiden: Folio, 1997).

⁴¹ Sylvaine Hänsel, *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) und die Kunst*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, 25 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1991), 24-52.

illustrations, together with translations in German from the Polyglot's Latin text. Hänsel argues that the Polyglot frontispieces present a theme intended to illuminate the truth of God's work, and that Montano was influenced by Vitruvian theories.

CHAPTER 2

LOCATING THE POLYGLOT IN ANTWERP AND MADRID: PRINTING, MAPMAKING, AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Here one could see Faith, Candor and Obedience take Antwerpia by the hand, and present her most submissively to our Prince Philip. And he appears to take her with his hand in a most friendly manner. And all of the various personages beside him appear to cast most favorable glances at her.

— C. Grapheus¹

Printing, Mapmaking and Hebraism in Philip's Antwerp ca. 1568

In 1568 Antwerp needed her king, and the king needed a Polyglot—it was the perfect marriage of interests. At the time of Philip's triumphal entry into the city in 1549, Antwerp had been the financial and artistic capital of the Netherlands, but the *Wunderjahr* of 1566, related iconoclasms, and the much-feared arrival of the Duke of Alba in 1567, marked a terrible watershed in the city's history. The year 1568 was characterized by political, religious and economic turmoil, made worse by widespread famine in the Lowlands. During its golden age earlier in the century, Antwerp had been a hotbed for the production of Protestant literature, but in the late 1560s the city's leading typographer, Christopher Plantin, now feared for his press—and his own safety. Who could impugn Plantin's orthodoxy if he printed a great royal bible for the “Most Catholic Monarch” of Europe?² Upon review by the Council of the Inquisition in 1568, Philip announced that he was “pleased” to sponsor a new edition of the Polyglot.³ From the beginning, the polyglot project was understood by Philip to be an updated edition of the internationally famous Complutensian Polyglot Bible, which had been dedicated to his famous

¹ Account from Philip's joyous entry into Antwerp in 1549 from C. Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke schoone Triumphelijcke Incompst, van den hooghmogenden Prince Philips* (Antwerp, 1550); in Mark A. Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp—*Blijde Incompst*,” in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek: Court, State and City Ceremonies* 49 (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 47.

² Clair, 59.

³ The “Polyglot” refers here to the Complutensian Polyglot of 1522; Clair, 67.

Spanish forebears, Isabella and Ferdinand. Having his name associated with such a project could have many significant, and positive, political ramifications. To produce such a complex bible edition required a range of specialties and resources that only 1568 Antwerp could offer: the *Officina Plantiniana* was among Europe's largest printing houses, and Plantin was an expert typographer proficient in a range of oriental type. Plantin also had the resources, in a faltering economy, to supplement the king's endowment. Because the Polyglot was Plantin's conception, scholars downplay Philip's role in its production and iconography, an argument with apparent contradictions. The Polyglot was dedicated to Philip, and his presence is quite literally perceived throughout volume one, which includes his name on dozens of pages. More importantly, the Polyglot would not have gone to press without the king's patronage—the king's dedication was paramount to Plantin—and ultimately, the Polyglot was approved by Rome and circulated only because it was 'Philip's' project.

Fifteenth sixty-eight was a difficult year in the history of Antwerp, but it was not always so. Antwerp circa 1550 was a thriving financial and cultural center, with one of the largest seaports in the world, having risen to prominence earlier in the century as headquarters for the Portuguese spice trade. It was an international hub for merchants, trading Spanish silver from the New World, silk imports from Italy, luxury textiles and paintings from Brussels and elsewhere. It had a population of 100,000 people, making it one of the largest cities in Europe. In the sixteenth century, Antwerp had the first official open art market, and works of art were produced on speculation and sold from artists' workshops and at the *pand*, a year-round art fair for which the city was internationally famous.⁴ Easel paintings were the most popular artistic

⁴ For the Antwerp *pand*, see Dirk Ewing, "Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1990): 558-584.

product in the first half of the century; printed images would later take the fore, associated with the growing book publishing industry.⁵ Illustrated books, an art form for which Antwerp became well-known, dominated the city's art market after 1550, and are associated with the printing houses of Christopher Plantin and also Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570), whose Antwerp shop, *aux Quatre Vents*, was among the most important in Europe.⁶ Antwerp was a metropolis known for its international character, and Michael Limberger has argued that the city participated in a "European world economy" shaped in part via the "great discoveries."⁷ Netherlandish art biographer Karel van Mander, writing in 1604, enthusiastically described the economic and artistic achievements of early sixteenth-century Antwerp:

The renowned and splendid city of Antwerp, which owes its bloom to trade, has succeeded in attracting to itself from all over the most important representatives of our art, who have also taken themselves there in great numbers, because art stops gladly in the vicinity of riches.⁸

A 1515 print with a view of Antwerp advertised the city in a similar way: *Antverpiae*

*Mercatorum Emporium: Antwerp, Emporium of Merchants.*⁹ Antwerp's thriving economy and

⁵ Larry Silver, "Antwerp as a Cultural System," *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 17.

⁶ For Antwerp's thriving printing district before 1550, see Paul Arblaster, "'Totius Mundi Emporium': Antwerp as a Centre for Vernacular Bible Translations, 1523-1545," in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. Arie-Jan Gerlenderblom, et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 9-31; see also Timothy Riggs and Larry Silver, eds., *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540-1640*, exhib. cat. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993). For Hieronymus Cock, see Timothy Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock, Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977).

⁷ Michael Limberger, "'No town in the world provides more advantages': economies of agglomeration and the golden age of Antwerp," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick O'Brien (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 39; This idea has been contested, see Limberger, 40.

⁸ From Carel van Mander, "Het leven Joachim Patenier," *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haerlem, 1604), f. 219; see Larry Silver, "Antwerp as a Cultural System," *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 16.

⁹ "Antwerp, Emporium of Merchants," inscribed on a 1515 woodcut view of Antwerp; see Jan van der Stock, ed., *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis*, exhib. cat. (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1985), 154.

international climate held appeal for French bookbinder-turned-printer Christopher Plantin. Plantin moved from Paris to Antwerp in 1548, and in a letter to Pope Gregory XIII, he explained why: “I chose to move to Belgium and Antwerp in particular . . . in my opinion no town in the world provides more advantages for the profession I wanted to pursue.” He added that he liked the international atmosphere at the market, the availability of raw materials, and the ready supply of intelligent labor.¹⁰ At the height of his printing activities in the 1570s, Plantin had sixteen presses, twenty compositors, thirty-two pressmen and three proofreaders.¹¹

Located in the Duchy of Brabant, Antwerp was a province in the Spanish Netherlands that Philip II inherited from his father Emperor Charles V in 1555. Research on the Antwerp Polyglot tends to underplay the significance of Antwerp as a Spanish dominion.¹² The reasons for this are understandable. The period after 1565 in the Lowlands was traditionally seen as a transitional period of artistic decline, marked by religious and political turmoil, including the wars of separation from Spain, the Inquisition, the ‘Reign of Terror,’ and related iconoclasms. The internationally famous Antwerp panel painter Pieter Bruegel the elder (b.1525) died in 1569, the historical moment when the hated Duke of Alba was at the height of his influence in the Netherlands.¹³ Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) would not rise to prominence in Antwerp until 1609, the year that also marked the beginning of the Twelve Years Truce, and a temporary end to

¹⁰ Van der Stock, *Metropolis*, 59.

¹¹ Werner Waterschoot, “Antwerp: books, publishing and cultural production before 1585,” in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick O’Brien (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 241.

¹² Specifically by northern European and American scholars; for the newer trend, see Mark A. Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II’s 1549 Antwerp—*Blijde Incompst*,” 37-68, and Emily Peters, “1549 Knight’s Game at Binche. Constructing Philip II’s ideal Identity in a Ritual of Honor,” 11-36, in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek: Court, State and City Ceremonies* 49 (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999).

¹³ The Duke of Alba (1508-1582), who was responsible for the Council of Troubles, also known as the Council of Blood, was governor of the Netherlands under Philip II from 1567-1573.

religious conflict in the North. Montano, on his arrival in Antwerp in 1568, noted with grief the destruction caused by the Iconoclasm of 1566:

During the beginning of the rebellion these miserable people set fire to an abbey which was reputed to be the most richly endowed with fine old books. . . . My bowels were torn with compassion when I saw the misery that had befallen these regions through the fault of a few, who were the authors of their own misfortune as well as of the common damage and disturbance.¹⁴

Significantly, Montano appears to show no sympathy for the Protestant rebels. Before the 1566 iconoclasm, Antwerp was a thriving market for panel painting in Northern Europe, and art historians have noted the shift in Antwerp's artistic production after 1566. Bruegel's later work, for example, is interpreted as "pervaded by a tone of sorrow and bitterness."¹⁵ While we have no written sources that reflect Bruegel's political and religious views, he must have been influenced by the terrifying climate in which he lived.¹⁶ Pieter Aertsen (1508-1575) was also one of Antwerp's best-known artists mid-century, and his altarpieces were among the liturgical imagery destroyed in the Antwerp Iconoclasm of 1566. Art historians have shown the ways in which the dynamic social and economic climate in mid-century Antwerp shaped the new subjects and genres developed by Aertsen and his pupil Joachim Beuckelaer (1533-1574), and also the impact the wars of religion and Spanish revolt had on their later productivity.¹⁷ In the 1560s Aertsen moved from Antwerp to Amsterdam and stopped producing religious imagery. This move by

¹⁴ Montano in a letter to Philip II dated July 6, 1568; T. González Carvajal, "elogio histórico del Dr. B. Arias Montano," in *Memorias Real Academia Historia*, Vol. VII (Madrid, 1832), no. 26, hereafter Carvajal; Rekers, *Montano*, 15.

¹⁵ Nadine M. Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Drawings and Prints*, exhib. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting and the Art Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 44, 100. For Aertsen and the social and economic climate of Antwerp circa 1550; see also Charlotte Houghton, "This Was Tomorrow: Pieter Aertsen's 'Meat Stall' as Contemporary Art," *The Art Bulletin* 86 (June 2004): no. 2, 277-300.

Aertsen reflects the beginning of a mass exodus of artists from Antwerp, when the general population steadily shrunk from 100,000 in 1565 to 42,000 in 1585.¹⁸ The shifting art market in Antwerp was also felt by Beuckelaer, who on his deathbed in 1574, complained that he could not earn a proper living in Antwerp as an artist.¹⁹ The Dutch revolt in 1566 has traditionally marked the beginning of the decline of Antwerp, economically and culturally, in part because thousands of artists and merchants fled the city.²⁰

While traditional modes of panel painting (for which Flanders had been internationally famous) were in decline, printed books with maps and illustrations rose to prominence as the most important art form of the later sixteenth century. In 1609 the German chorographer and print collector Matthias Quadt von Kinkelbach described the art of engraving as having “arose” from metalworking, becoming a major art form in the northern lands; in his description of the late sixteenth-century Antwerp publishing houses, he criticized the use of stock engraved illustrations, but concedes the usefulness of their engraved maps for the “writer and traveler.”²¹ Northern Europe had a long history of printmaking, and can be associated in the sixteenth century with Reformed literature and new printed bible editions. Significantly, the cultural and political environment associated with the Reformation led to a decline in panel painting and the eventual dominance of the print medium. Earlier, in the fifteenth century, prints were popularized in northern Europe as a reproducible medium suitable for playing cards and inexpensive single-leaf images of saints. In the later fifteenth century, printing was raised to a high art by engraver Martin Schongauer (1448-1491), who specialized in highly-detailed and

¹⁸ The population would rebound in 1615, with a total of 61,000; see Limberger, 43.

¹⁹ Honig, 44, 100.

²⁰ Limberger, 53.

²¹ Landau and Parshall, 354.

finely-crafted historical subjects. While painting was considered a higher craft than printmaking, a distinction was also made between the art of engraving, associated with luxury metalwork, and woodcut prints, which became commonly used for book illustrations. The woodcut became tied to book printing in the second half of the fifteenth century, because it was adopted as the most effective means of illustrating texts using movable type.²² The reasons for this are practical. Both woodcuts and movable type are a relief process in printing; intaglio engraving on a metal plate requires an opposite process.²³ Woodcuts were also less expensive to produce than metal-plate prints. More prints could also be pulled from one woodblock than from one plate.

The wars of religion played an important role in the sixteenth-century northern European woodcut print market, and the printing press was used to great advantage for the dissemination of Reformed ideologies. Painters such as Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), a close friend of Martin Luther, produced woodcut illustrations for pamphlets and broadsheets to promote Luther's reforms.²⁴ Cranach's *Passional Christi un Antichristi* (1520) includes twenty six woodcut prints juxtaposing scenes from the life of Christ with those of the Antichrist, identified as the Pope. One example shows *Christ Expelling the Money-Changers* together with *The Pope Selling Indulgences*.²⁵ The images take up three-quarters of the page, and each includes a paragraph of text below. Sixteenth-century Protestant bibles printed in the vernacular often featured woodcut images to illustrate the text, and Cranach produced images for Luther bible

²² David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴ For recent scholarship on Cranach, see Bodo Brinkmann, ed., *Cranach*, exhib. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008). For a magisterial exposition of Cranach in particular and Reformation art in general, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2004).

²⁵ See Giulia Bartrum, ed., *German Renaissance Prints: 1490-1550*, exhib. cat. (London: British Museum Press, 1995), no. 181, 177-178.

editions published in Wittenberg.²⁶ The widely circulated Geneva Bible of 1560 included woodcut illustrations and maps of the Holy Land. From 1520 to 1558, Antwerp and Amsterdam became the leading centers for the manufacture of bibles with woodcut illustrations.²⁷

In Antwerp, printmaking and book publishing were associated as ‘free arts,’ which could be practiced without guild membership.²⁸ Free of guild regulations, the two crafts were linked and could more easily be pursued in collaboration. This situation changed in 1558 when Philip II’s government forced the Antwerp city magistrates to impose guild membership on these trades. The guilds were thus empowered to oversee the orthodoxy and “moral character” of illustrated, printed books.²⁹ Woodcuts dominated printed bible editions before 1570. The use of engraved images in books developed along somewhat different lines.³⁰ Until 1570, engraved book illustrations had been primarily used for higher-end printing projects requiring highly detailed, finely crafted prints: portrait series, luxury emblem books (with engraved rather than moveable type), scientific treatises with illustrations, cartographical and architectural works, and anatomical studies.³¹ One of the striking elements of the Antwerp Polyglot is the “novel appearance” of engraved, rather than woodcut, illustrations and maps in a bible.³²

²⁶ Rosier, 14-15.

²⁷ As demonstrated by Rosier, *passim*.

²⁸ See Clifton and Melion, 17. For more on printed books and printed book illustrations as ‘free arts’ in Antwerp before 1558, see “The St. Luke’s Guild and printer-publishers in Antwerp (1442-1558)” in Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive Rotterdam, 1998), 28-57: from 1442 to 1495 book ‘prenters’ and ‘verlichters’ (illuminators) were required to join the guild of St. Luke, representing painters and sculptors, because, it was argued, they used ink admixed with oil and varnish—liquids used for painting. In an Antwerp magistrate court decision of 1495 it was concluded that book printers and illustrators use special ink for printing not associated with liquid used for painting. As a result of this decision, book printers and book illustrators working with paper and ink were free of guild restrictions from 1495 to 1558.

²⁹ Clifton and Melion, 17.

³⁰ Landau and Parshall, 3.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Bowen and Imhof, 99.

Printed books featuring maps became best sellers in sixteenth-century Europe, and later sixteenth-century Antwerp became a publishing center for map books. Ptolemy's *Geographia* was widely available in the early sixteenth century, published throughout Europe and translated into German, French, Italian and other languages.³³ Earlier manuscript editions were produced after the rediscovery of Ptolemy in the fifteenth century, and the sixteenth-century printed editions were published in a range of sizes and languages, both woodblock and engraved, and with continually updated world maps. Sebastian Münster (1489-1552) as well as Peter Apian's (1495-1552) editions of the *Cosmographia* were also widely known and expounded Ptolemaic concepts, with maps and illustrations, in its exposition of the origin of the world.

The 1570 publication in Antwerp of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first early modern atlas, was intended to replace the outdated Ptolemy editions, and can be associated with later sixteenth-century European 'map-mania'.³⁴ Published by Plantin, the 1570 *Theatrum*, a landmark in mapbook production, highlights the ascendancy of Antwerp as a leading European publishing center. It also demonstrates Philip II's association with this cultural phenomenon. The most important artists and workshops in later sixteenth-century Antwerp worked under the auspices of the king, including Ortelius, who dedicated the *Theatrum Orbis* to Philip, "King of the Indies and Spain, the most distinguished monarch of the whole world and of all ages. . . ."³⁵ Ortelius became close friends with the king's librarian Montano during the Spaniard's tenure in

³³ For print editions of Ptolemy, See Benjamin Weiss, "The *Geography* in Print: 1475-1530," in *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance*, eds. Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (London: The Warburg Institute and Turin: Nino Aragno Editore, 2011), 91-120.

³⁴ See Robert Karrow, "Centers of Map Production in Europe, 1472-1600," in *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 611-621.

³⁵ The dedication reads: D. PHILIPPO AVS TRIACO CAROLI V. AVG. ROM. IMP. F. INDIARUM HISPANIARVMQVE, ETC. REGI, OMNIUM AETATUM ET TOTIVS ORBIS AMPLISSIMI IMPERII MONARCHAE, ABRAHAMVS ORTELIVS ANTVERPIA NVS ED. CONSECRATQVE; Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1570).

Antwerp as editor of the Polyglot. Ortelius likewise entered Philip's intellectual and courtly circle, being given the title of *Geographus regius* in 1575. Plantin, among the most prominent publishers in Europe, also a good friend of Montano's, was the king's royal typographer. In short, Antwerp circa 1568 was the premier book-publishing center of northern Europe, and Philip II sponsored its most important projects. Philip also facilitated the friendships and collaborations that brought these projects to life.

Among these projects was the Antwerp Polyglot, the largest and most ambitious printed bible project in history. Antwerp had the right combination of resources, technologies and royal patronage to facilitate the production of the Polyglot. The Polyglot's printer and editor were also united by a motivating desire. Whatever their private views, goals and ambitions, Plantin and Montano wanted the Polyglot to promote Philip in a way that would please him. United by similar motivations, these two men were also responsible for the acquisition and production of sacred books for the Philip's famous library at the Escorial.³⁶ What, then, of Plantin's connection with Reformers and heterodox sects? Was the "Most Catholic" monarch's Royal Bible made by closet heretics? Much has been made of the "ecumenical" and/or heterodox nature of Plantin's printing house. Elizabeth Eisenstein has explained this seeming paradox. The ecumenicism associated with Plantin's printhouse was "complementary" to his activities as a "capitalist" entrepreneur; the creation of such "syndicates" among confessionally mixed businessmen represented a new "cosmopolitan" ethos that was "tolerant without being secular."³⁷ The socio-economic culture of late sixteenth-century Antwerp was politically and religiously

³⁶ For Montano and Plantin's collaborative activities ca. 1569 acquiring manuscripts and books for the Escorial, see Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Benito Arias Montano* (Humphrey and Milford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 10-18.

³⁷ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 199. For ecumenicism and heterodoxy in Plantin's workshop, see Castro and Voet, *La Biblia Políglota*, 11-33; Clair, 23-36 and *passim*; and Rekers, 70-104.

complex, and as a merchantile center, the mixed range of languages and ethnicities made Antwerp “an obvious center for the exchange of all kinds of information.”³⁸

Plantin began his printing business in 1555 with support of Hendrik Niclaes, founder of the Family of Love. He later formed a partnership with several known Calvinists, but dissolved this association in 1567 on the arrival of the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands.³⁹ Between 1562 and 1566 Plantin also had agents involved in the production of vernacular bibles in Kampen and Wesel.⁴⁰ It appears, however, that once Plantin formed a contract with the king in 1568, these heterodox activities ceased, and he swore (in writing) his devotion to Philip and the “true faith.” While the mixed international culture of Antwerp facilitated the release of heretical works from the 1520s to the 1560s, it was a risky business. Some of the publishers who successfully produced and circulated suspicious books worked clandestinely, while others were tried for printing unorthodox material and sentenced to death.⁴¹

Plantin’s printing house famously specialized in Hebrew literature, making it an ideal location for the production of the Polyglot. Mid-century Venice had been the center of Hebrew book production until Pope Julius III imposed a ban on Hebrew literature there in 1553.⁴² After that point, Antwerp, with the support of Charles V, became the capital for the publication of Hebrew books in Europe. Hebrew type was not widely available, and Plantin’s reputation as a

³⁸ Waterschoot, 239.

³⁹ Ibid., 241.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Antwerp printers Adriaan van Berghen, Jacob van Liesvelt and Frans Fraet were all sentenced to death between 1542 and 1558 for circulating heretical literature; see Waterschoot, 235-236.

⁴² Van der Heide, 85. For more on the reception of Hebrew literature and Christian Hebraism in the sixteenth century, see Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, “Censorship, Editing, and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 125-158.

printer grew after his acquisition in 1562 of a set from the type cutter Guillaume Lebé.⁴³ Plantin published a range of Hebrew material, including Hebrew bibles and grammars, and he served both the Jewish and Christian Hebraist markets. While seventeenth-century Amsterdam is better known for its religious tolerance and large immigrant Jewish population, Antwerp in 1571 had on record eighty-five Jewish families and seventeen bachelors.⁴⁴ This was a small number relative to the overall population of Antwerp, but significant given the banishment of Jews from entire principalities such as Spain and England. Plantin collaborated with a Jewish convert to Christianity, Johannes Isaac Levita (1515-1577), a professor of Hebrew at Louvain University, on several Hebrew-language texts including a reprint of Levita's *Grammatica Hebraea* of 1564; Levita later contributed to the Polyglot.⁴⁵ Given the difficult antisemitic climate of sixteenth-century Europe, both Plantin and Montano had more contact with "new" Christians than with practicing Jews.⁴⁶ Both did, however, have access to rabbinical texts and exegesis, and it is known that Plantin had obtained a Hebrew Talmud (on the Spanish Index of banned books) for Montano's use.⁴⁷ An ardent Hebraist, Montano defended "the value of Jewish Biblical traditions as laid down in the vocalisation (of the rabbinical Masoretic text)."⁴⁸

⁴³ Plantin's *Biblia Hebraica* of 1566, for example, was purchased by Jewish clients; see Van der Heide, 86-87.

⁴⁴ Dean Phillip Bell, *Jews in the Early Modern World* (Lanham and Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), 50.

⁴⁵ Van der Heide, 86.

⁴⁶ For the very complicated issues around Jewish conversion and the definition of *converso* in early modern Spain and Europe, see Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

⁴⁷ See Eisenstein, 206.

⁴⁸ Ibid. The Masoretes were a group of 6th to 10th century Jewish scholars who standardized the Hebrew Bible and developed a vocalizing point system for the text. There are no vowels in Hebrew, and a concern that proper vocalization of the language would be lost in time led to the addition of vocalization. Sixteenth-century antisemitical Christian authorities such as Wilhelmus Lindanus (1523-1588), Bishop of Rurmond, promoted ancient sources for biblical texts over the medieval Masoretic, which was seen as 'too' Jewish. For more on Montano's reliance on Rabbinical sources see Rekers, 56-66.

Scholars have argued that the notion of *Concordia mundi* was developed in the late sixteenth century, and that Plantin, Montano, and their circle were associated with the ecumenical concept of a global “family of man.”⁴⁹ Such “global” concepts had cultural resonance in a merchantile, confessionally mixed, “cosmopolitan” trading center that valued world maps. Plantin was a Frenchman settled in Spanish Antwerp, and his printing house never lost its international flavor. As a center for Hebraism and map publishing, Plantin’s *Officina Plantiniana*, located at the sign of the Golden Compasses, presented a kind of microcosm of Philip’s Antwerp circa 1568.

The Art of Cartography: Spatial Relationships and the Tensions between Regional and Imperial Perspectives

Rulers used large maps in a range of important ways.⁵⁰ At Hampton Court in the 1540s a single *mappamundi* surrounded by sacred art in a gallery between the king’s bedchamber and chapel was meant to convey a message of conventional royal piety.⁵¹ More often, large maps in palaces were intended to glorify the ruler in obvious ways.⁵² Room size maps, specifically fresco maps in Italy, tapestry maps in the North, and large parchment maps in England, were popular subjects for both civic and imperial interior decoration schemes—the ideal Renaissance alignment of art, science and power. Large maps could be used to promote imperial power, and also assert regional identity in civic settings. In the 1560s the Antwerp magistrates ordered a series of tapestries for the new town hall, *Views of towns along the Scheldt*; the scenes were

⁴⁹ Eisenstein, 206.

⁵⁰ Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art*, exhib. cat. (London: The British Library, 2010), 22. For Italian fresco maps as political and religious propaganda, see Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁵¹ Barber and Harper, 23.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 24.

chorographic renderings of the cities between Middelburg and Antwerp.⁵³ Cityscape views were an ideal way to promote local identity and autonomy, and as a consequence, the Antwerp tapestries disappeared from the town hall during the Spanish Fury of 1576. Emperor Charles V (r.1519-1558) used large tapestry maps to promote imperial messages, including the important political union between Spain and England. He ordered his recently completed tapestry series featuring maps, “one of the largest and most ambitious tapestry commissions of the century,” *The Conquest of Tunis* (1554, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real, Madrid), hung in Winchester Cathedral on the occasion of his son Philip II’s wedding to Mary Tudor.⁵⁴ During the reign of Henry VIII, a giant world map on parchment hung in the Privy Gallery of Whitehall Palace. It was described as a large “Mappe of the whole worlde . . . with the kynges armes therin.”⁵⁵ A display of arms was an important demonstration of power, and the associations here with Henry and the House of Tudor would have been obvious. Philip II had map rooms, which included large-scale versions of chorographic cityscapes he had commissioned of his realm, and the throne room at the Escorial incorporated wall-size geographic maps taken from Ortelius’ *Theatrum*.

Sixteenth-century mapmaking was a politically charged activity indeed. Rulers commissioned maps for a host of reasons: to facilitate military campaigns; for exploration; to claim or survey their territories, and for purposes of self-promotion.⁵⁶ The best-known Italian examples in fresco, all created between 1560 and 1584, are the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*

⁵³ Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestries* (Tielt: Lannoo Publishers, 1999), 177.

⁵⁴ Thomas Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exhib. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 268.

⁵⁵ Barber and Harper, 40.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

in the Vatican, the *Sala del Mappamondo* in the Farnese Palace (Caprarola), and the *Stanza delle Mappe Geografiche*, in the Palazzo Vecchio (Florence).⁵⁷ These map rooms served, respectively, as a gallery, a reception hall, and “a rather large cabinet of curiosities,”—all with public viewership.⁵⁸ Thus encapsulating their audiences, these highly mediated interior spaces conveyed rather bold political and religious messages. The *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, for example, was intended to promote Italy as the second Holy Land, and the stanza in the Palazzo Vecchio was meant “to seduce viewers into drawing parallels between the cosmos and the universal knowledge” of its patron.⁵⁹

Imperial mappers were, above all, sensitive to the needs of their royal sponsors. An anecdote sheds light on the way Gemma Frisius (1508-1555), mapmaker to Emperor Charles V, eschewed cartographic accuracy in order to satisfy Charles’ geopolitical vision. The royal mapmakers Frisius and Oronce Fine (who worked for the French court) knew that Ptolemy’s traditional projection favored the Mediterranean—but making the Mediterranean smaller meant making Spain smaller. While Frisius, who worked for the king of Spain stuck with Ptolemy’s projection, Fine’s map of 1531 presents “a dramatically shrunken Spain.”⁶⁰ Later in the sixteenth century, with new cartographic principles such as Mercator’s projection of 1569, representational rules became somewhat more rigid. Modes of assembly did remain fluid, however, and mapmakers such as Ortelius borrowed freely from both established and new cartographical models in attempts to construct the most relevant and interesting maps.⁶¹

⁵⁷For more on these three rooms see Barber and Harper, 20-23.

⁵⁸ Barber and Harper, 23.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 288.

⁶¹ For Ortelius, see Robert W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Biographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press, 1993).

Ortelius, a pupil of the famous cartographer Gerard Mercator (1512-1594), acknowledged that the maps in his *Theatrum* were taken from known designs.⁶² The *Theatrum* was produced for a consumer market, and provided as much known geographic information as possible. It consisted of an up-to-date world map, and maps of countries, regions and islands. Ortelius retained a certain flexibility in his methods of assembly—with a print market hungry for “new” world maps, expediency was weighed in equal measure with scientific accuracy. As an international bestseller printed in multiple editions and many languages, Ortelius’ atlas reflected a new, broad, cartographic literacy. For every class of viewer, merchant, intellectual and prince, a map was not simply a geographic record. It was a visual product which served as a repository for highly charged social, political and religious meanings.

In the later sixteenth-century, a map of the world would have had special significance for a princely audience, as “the connection between cartography and the exercise of imperial power is an ancient one.”⁶³ With the discovery of the New World, the governments of Spain and Portugal in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the first to “regulate mapping on a global imperial scale.”⁶⁴ This leads one to ponder the nature of imperial mapping, and to ask, “What is an imperial map?” While the implications of an “imperial map” might seem immediately apparent, it is a nebulous label. As Matthew Edney argues, there is no good definition for “empire,” however the word does entail “some degree of inequality, subordination, and cultural distinction.”⁶⁵ The word “map” is likewise problematic, but possesses “highly partial and

⁶² Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1570), ff. 4r-6v; Ortelius gives tribute to the “learned men” who preceded him, and names 87 map designers in his “Catalogus Auctorum,” 5r-6v.

⁶³ James R. Akerman, *The Imperial Map* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 1.

⁶⁴ Akerman, 2.

⁶⁵ Matthew H. Edney, “The Irony of Imperial Mapping,” in *The Imperial Map*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 12.

persistently ideological meanings.”⁶⁶ Most importantly, imperial maps are only effective if their meanings can be activated by the viewer. In the later sixteenth century, world maps became objects of such fascination that the cultural phenomenon amounted to a mania—the ability to hold the world in one’s hands, was related to a new “geography of the mind.”⁶⁷ “Physical domination of the map,” Edney concludes, “whether one holds it, or simply leans over it, entails an intellectual domination of the territory.”⁶⁸ A map is, above all, a visual representation of spatial relationships (real or imagined) between locations indicated on the map, and also between the map and its “dominator.” In a world made bigger overnight by the voyages of discovery and exploration, spatial concepts helped sixteenth-century viewers, princes and merchants alike, to conceptualize their new world in different, and meaningful ways. This was the cultural *milieu* in which the Antwerp Polyglot maps and views were created.

The argument that sixteenth-century Europeans organized and assimilated information spatially is supported by the popular cultural habit of collecting. The Renaissance collector’s interest in the natural or tangible world is tied to notions of place—the object in the collection becomes a surrogate for a location on the map. The concept of *de wereld binnen handbereik*, or having the “world at one’s fingertips,” was an important idea developed in conjunction with later sixteenth-century cabinet collections, and it incorporated cultural habits in common with the attendant ‘map-mania’.⁶⁹ The changing outlines of the world’s landmasses as visualized on

⁶⁶ Edney, 12.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Edney, 26. For early modern viewing experiences tied to the invention of prints, see David Sheridan Areford, “In the viewer’s hands: The reception of the printed image in late medieval Europe, ca. 1400—c. 1500,” Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2001.

⁶⁹ See *De wereld binnen handereik: Nederlandse kunst-en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735*, exhib. cat. (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992).

world maps reflects a new era of empire building, colonization and trade. As new information arrived, ethnographic collections and maps were a “particular way to manage the world’s complexity.”⁷⁰ Around 1570, imported New World *exotica*, including objects such as conch shells from the Indies, together with local or regional “wonders” and *naturalia* were displayed in private cabinets by European collectors such as Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605), cousin of Pope Gregory XIII (p.1572-1585). Aldrovandi and his erudite circle collected and displayed a range of “strange and wonderful things,” including dragons, antiquities and maps.⁷¹ Eclectic collections were associated with Renaissance science, travel, discovery and ethnographic interest in newly discovered peoples—all issues central to later sixteenth-century humanist discourse and art. Aldrovandi attempted to persuade Philip II to fund an Atlantic expedition, as a “new Columbus” financed by the descendant of Isabella and Ferdinand, in order to make a comprehensive study of New World *naturalia*. In return for the king’s capital, Aldrovandi promised to “dedicate all of my works and labors to His Majesty, deservedly as my patron, like Aristotle did for Alexander.”⁷² Philip declined, giving the task to his court physician, but Aldrovandi never ceased to beg the king’s good favor.⁷³

Wealthy armchair travelers, pilgrims and potentates alike, also collected and admired “new” world maps, which they physically contextualized as part of their global collections, as the premiere collectable novelties of their age. Vicarious travel, using maps and collections as a

⁷⁰ Edney, 17.

⁷¹ Aldrovandi, who lived in Bologna, was famous for his collection of *naturalia*; see “A World of Wonders in One Closet Shut,” in Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994), 17-47.

⁷² Findlen, 314-315 and 356-357.

⁷³ Philip gave the commission to Francisco Hernandez whom he sent to Mexico from 1570-1577; see María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

spatial aid, was associated with real travel, both contemporary and historical. Maps used for meditation were associated with the real journeys of holy men in ancient times.⁷⁴ Naturalists such as Aldrovandi eagerly consumed literature on the voyages of discovery and exploration, and identified themselves with fabled explorers such as Columbus.⁷⁵ As with geographical knowledge, understanding and categorizing systems in nature was a fundamental characteristic of a classical Renaissance education. Philip himself was a model of all these activities, and with Montano's help, had one of the greatest, most eclectic collections in Europe; these included rare birds, exotic plants, ancient coins, medals, and a 14,000 volume library with volumes in Arabic and Hebrew.⁷⁶

Like Aldrovandi, Benito Montano was obsessed with encyclopedic collections that quantify the natural world, and saw scripture, specifically the book of Genesis, as a summary of natural philosophy.⁷⁷ Montano's *Naturae historia*, which he considered his *magnum opus*, consumed his intellectual attention later in life. It is encyclopedic in nature, and was intended to fill three great volumes. It remained unfinished at the time of his death, and was published posthumously by Plantin in 1601. For Montano, scripture was the basis for a true understanding of nature, and experience, observation and experimentation could be used to validate scriptural principles.⁷⁸ Montano argued that the source of everything in nature could be derived from

⁷⁴ Walter S. Melion, "Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's Parergon," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery: Place and Culture in Northern Art* 57 (1999).

⁷⁵ Findlen, 314.

⁷⁶ Richard Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (1986): no. 1, 130-131.

⁷⁷ For more on Montano and natural philosophy in scripture, see María M. Portuondo, "The Study of Nature, Philosophy, and the Royal Library of San Lorenzo of the Escorial," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (Winter 2010): no. 4, 1106-1150.

⁷⁸ Portuondo, "Study of Nature," 1126; to put it another way, Montano was associated with "a broader movement of

God's actions in the book of Genesis, and this wisdom is hidden specifically in the arcane Hebrew translations. Montano believed that Hebrew etymologies, above all the other oriental languages of scripture, encoded the true *prisca sapientia*.⁷⁹ As a guide for the contemporary Christian, the *Naturae historia* ordered nature into spatial relationships that conflate both place and time. In other words, the sacred truths plummed from arcane Hebrew scripture could be used by the contemporary Christian to frame an ordered life. This last great work by Montano, intended as a summary of the world's knowledge, presented a culmination of his progressive Hebrew education at the University of Alcalá in the 1550s, together with his activities as a collector. During his stays in both Rome and Antwerp, Montano purchased maps, books, and curiosities on Philip's behalf.⁸⁰ Montano was also engaged by Philip in the 1560s to purchase books for the Escorial Royal Library of San Lorenzo, which Philip intended to "house the knowledge of the realm" and thereby "mirror the magnificence of the patron."⁸¹

Encyclopedic collections, such as the monumental one envisioned by Philip for the *Biblioteca regia* were mimicked on a diminutive scale in the cabinets of private collectors in the late sixteenth century. Cabinet collections that encapsulated the natural world or *wunderkammen*, included oddities, precious materials and crafted objects valued for their artifice and mimicry. The exotic object in one's cabinet came to stand for a group of "others" far away. The connection between the cabinet and the distant land was a way of ordering spatial

pious philosophy that attempted to harmonize knowledge of the natural world with Scripture;" see Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion and Scholarship, 1550-1700* (Lieden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 27.

⁷⁹ Portuondo, "Study of Nature," 1126.

⁸⁰Portuondo, "Study of Nature," 1126. Montano was in Rome from 1562-1564 as a member of the Spanish delegation to the third session of the Council of Trent, and again in 1572 to defend the Polyglot before the Papal court.

⁸¹ Portuondo, "Study of Nature," 1109.

relationships, and these relationships can be associated with colonization in the era of exploration. Special collections filled with natural wonders and exotic objects had long held princely associations; for the Burgundian courts, and later the Hapsburgs, they represented nobility and wealth, and the conquest of America expanded the vocabulary of wonders.⁸² In the fifteenth century, the Dukes of Burgundy relied on “collections of exotica and other wonders to impress foreign visitors with their wealth.”⁸³ Philip the Good’s (r. 1419-1467) collection included “strange” birds, spices, exotic fruit, a blonde dwarf, monkeys and *morisque* dancers in Eastern garb.⁸⁴ With the voyages of exploration, what had been the aspirational colonialism of the Burgundian courts transformed into real domination by the Hapsburgs.⁸⁵ The expanded vocabulary of wonders, together with vastly expanded territories, required new epistemologies and systems of organization. Philip’s motivating factor in sponsoring new cosmographies was an administrative need to know and understand the New World, and acquire an ethnographic understanding of its peoples. Cartography “provided a way of understanding (the New World) with mathematical precision,” and the Spanish cosmographer’s primary task “was to incorporate the New World into a new universal cosmography.”⁸⁶

In a similar way, later sixteenth-century print collectors were forced to develop new systems of organizing large, eclectic amounts of material.⁸⁷ The “flood of printed images” in

⁸² Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 108.

⁸³ Daston and Park, 102.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 101-102.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁸⁶ María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science*, 62.

⁸⁷ For print collecting and the “Theater of Knowledge,” see Peter Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe,” *Harvard University Art Museum Bulletin* 2 (Spring 1994): no. 3, 7-36.

late Renaissance Europe required new systems for the ordering human knowledge.⁸⁸ Peter Parshall points to two popular modes of encyclopedism as models for organizational strategies: cosmographies and curiosity cabinets. While Apian's *Cosmographia*, for example, is text based, the cabinet incorporates physical specimens and artifacts. Unlike cabinets, texts provided a "universal history incorporating the present physical environment and material culture of a region into an account of its past."⁸⁹ In a printed book, spatial relationships transcend place and time, and are associated with myths of origin and patrimonial constructs. The obvious advantage of print material is that hypothetical spatial relationships can become "real" when they are defined by authoritative text juxtaposed with contrived visual artifacts (i.e. illustrations). Printed illustrated books have a propagandistic advantage by their uniformity of message, and in the larger size of their target audience. Unlike a cabinet, a book can be cloned in multiples.

For Philip, the Antwerp Polyglot reflected the cosmography of his empire in eight massive volumes—a cosmology he wanted to promote. As Portuondo has argued, "Sixteenth century Spanish royal cosmographers went beyond satisfying personal curiosity. (For them) it meant organizing and presenting information about the new discoveries in a manner that served the empire effectively and provided utilitarian results . . . as gatekeepers of firsthand cosmographical knowledge of the newly discovered lands, Spanish royal cosmographers were the first to wrestle with how to incorporate 'a vast number of inconvenient facts' into a European understanding of the world."⁹⁰ Illustrated books, unlike most cabinet collections, physically traveled, and while objects in cabinet collections can be rearranged, shuffled and reordered, bound illustrated editions were meant to be viewed in a particular sequence.

⁸⁸ Parshall, 25.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 24.

⁹⁰ Portuondo, *Secret Science*, 59.

It is widely accepted that prints and printed books produced in the southern Netherlands, and sponsored by the Spanish crown, were central to concepts of early modern globalization.⁹¹ Prints and printed books could be easily carried, and the Antwerp print and book market is largely responsible for this process of global exchange. Paper collections make great propaganda, and when printed volumes include didactic pictures bound together in a particular order, so much the better. Philip's geopolitical worldview as presented in the iconographical program of the Polyglot was ideally served by the print medium. At least six hundred copies of the Polyglot were in circulation throughout Europe and possibly the New World.

The 1570 release of Ortelius' *Theatrum*, with thousands of copies in print, facilitated the proliferation of *new* world concepts and their attendant play of spatial relationships, as the *Theatrum* visually associated the king's name (to which it was dedicated) with the whole world. The geographically themed *Theatrum* should be considered "alongside" the chorographically oriented *Civitates orbis terrarum* of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, "another great work of cartographical compilation," published in Cologne in 1572.⁹² Both, not just one or the other, were a must for any late Renaissance library. While the *Theatrum* is an atlas with maps, the *Civitates* is a series of views that show individual towns in detail. When used together, they composed the ideal Ptolemaic scheme. In earlier traditions, as exemplified by the T-O map in Jean Mansel, *La Fleur des Histoires* (Valenciennes, 1463), profile and aerial perspectives had been combined. Asia, Europe, and Africa are shown in-plan from above, while Shem, Japheth and Ham, together with the topographical details, are shown in profile. The science of surveying and new mathematical principles that developed in the sixteenth century led to the separation of

⁹¹ Werner Thomas and Eddy Stols, eds., *Un Mundo Sobre Papel: Libros y Grabados Flamencos en el Imperio Hispanoportugués, siglos XVI-XVIII* (La Haya: Acco Lovaina, 2009).

⁹² Pettegree, 289.

geographic and chorographic modes. Sixteenth-century audiences, however, still thought it important to consider them in tandem.⁹³

In the sixteenth century, maps, globes and other cartographical material became widely popular subjects in Northern art. While royal patrons used maps of all kinds as expressions of imperial power, maps and cartographical material were also used by artists to assert regional identities. Both Svetlana Alpers and Walter Gibson have discussed the important relationship between mapmaking and painting in Northern art.⁹⁴ And scholars including Samuel Edgerton and Angelo Cattaneo argue that interest in Ptolemaic projections coincided with the development of perspectival systems in the Renaissance.⁹⁵ Above all, Renaissance humanists puzzled over Ptolemy's apparent marriage of the two disciplines, geography and chorography, when Ptolemy himself restricted his *Geographia* to geographical representations.

While notions of a mapmaking *mentality* have traditionally fostered a great deal of debate among art historians, it is undeniable that there existed in northern Europe a map aesthetic, or a taste for cartographic material—both geographic and chorographic. Maps, landscapes and chorographic views were all important modes of representation in the North in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. David Buisseret argues that fifteenth-century Netherlandish artists contributed to the development of a “new map consciousness”: “Artists like the Van

⁹³ Pettigree, 290.

⁹⁴ See Walter S. Gibson, “*Mirror of the Earth*,” *The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989); and Svetlana Alpers, “The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art,” reprinted in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 51-96.

⁹⁵ Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., “From Mental Matrix to *Mappamundi* to Christian Empire: The Heritage of Ptolemaic Cartography in the Renaissance,” in Woodward, *Art and Cartography*, 10-50; Angelo Cattaneo, “Map Projections and Perspective in the Renaissance,” in *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance*, Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett, eds. (London and Turnin: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Editore, 2011); for a contrary view on chorography in Ptolemy's text, see Lucia Nuti, “Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance,” in *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1999), 90-108.

Eycks and the Limbourg brothers had begun to delineate rural and urban scenes with hitherto unparalleled “realism,” so encouraging the later emergence of utilitarian topographical views and, eventually, of a profusion of maps of country and town.⁹⁶ The most influential painters in the history of Northern art, including the Limbourg Brothers (a.1400-1416), Jan van Eyck (a.1395-1441), and Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), also made maps.⁹⁷ The artist Pieter Pourbus (1510-1584) was “both a painter and a serious mapper.”⁹⁸

Painter Hans Holbein the younger (1497-1543) contributed detailed figural surrounds to printed world maps, and is commonly associated with the marriage of art and cartography in sixteenth-century northern Europe. On one example, the Münster world map of 1532, Holbein designed elaborate borders with ethnographic figures, exotic animals and richly detailed landscape vignettes.⁹⁹ Apart from his ornamental contributions to actual maps, Holbein also included maps and cartographic material as subjects in his paintings. His double-portrait of the *French Ambassadors* (1533, National Gallery, London), for example, includes both a terrestrial and celestial globe, as well as instruments required for navigation. Lisa Jardin and Jerry Brotton’s iconographical reading of this work suggests that the celestial and astronomic objects were intended to reflect the elite status of the sitters by their association with esoteric knowledge—the items on the upper shelf should be seen as “global,” contrasted with the items

⁹⁶ David Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1.

⁹⁷ For Limbourg Brothers map of Rome, see Rob Dükers and Pieter Roelofs, *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen masters at the French Court, 1400-1416*, exhib. cat. (Antwerp and Amsterdam: Ludion, 2005), 199; for Dürer, see for example Giulia Bartrum, ed., *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 194.

⁹⁸ Alpers, 62.

⁹⁹ Münster, Sebastian and Holbein, *Typus Cosmographicus Universalis* (Basel, 1532); Shirley, *Mapping of the World*, 67. For other Holbein contributions to map surrounds, see for example the map borders ascribed to Holbein and Urs Graf (1485-1527) in Sebastian Münster and Willibald Pirckheimer, *Geographia Universalis* (Basel, 1540).

on the lower shelf which concern the “local and particular.”¹⁰⁰ They argue that the cartographical material in the painting promotes “diplomatic wishful thinking regarding French imperial power in the period,” rather than being imperialistic, the anti-Hapsburg painting “is the counterpoint of imperialism elsewhere.”¹⁰¹ References to Hapsburg imperialism are intentionally missing or skewed on the terrestrial globe; the route marking Magellan’s Hapsburg-sponsored expedition is not shown.¹⁰²

Holbein painted the globe from a known model produced by Gemma Frisius in 1535 to commemorate Magellan’s circumnavigation.¹⁰³ Frisius’ globe shows the Hapsburg imperial eagle flying over the city of Tunis, which had fallen to Charles V earlier than summer.¹⁰⁴ None of these imperial symbols is indicated on Holbein’s painted globe in *Ambassadors*. The terrestrial globe does, however, show the sitter’s hometown of Polisy, clearly marked in its proper location in France.¹⁰⁵ Significantly, Holbein used cartographical clues organized spatially in a painted collection, separating the information between imperial and regional interests in order to promote the concerns of the patron.

An important point to consider here, as in the case of the *French Ambassadors*, is the impact that imperial versus local ideologies had in the lives of the painters and sitters involved.

¹⁰⁰ Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd, 2000), 53. For more on Holbein’s *Ambassadors*, see Susan Foister, Ashok Roy and Martin Wyld, *Making and Meaning: Holbein’s Ambassadors*, exhib. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹⁰¹ Jardine and Brotton, 55-57.

¹⁰² Holbein’s model for the globe is called the *Ambassadors Globe* (c. 1526, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT) which clearly delineates Magellan’s voyage; see Jardine and Brotton, 56.

¹⁰³ For more on early modern globes, see Elly Dekker, “Globes in Renaissance Europe,” *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 135-173.

¹⁰⁴ Jardine and Brotton, 56.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

If terrestrial globes were associated with imperial incentives, it seems logical that regional maps and chorographic views could likewise be used in order to assert regional identities. Ptolemy “characterized chorography as the description of particular regions of the earth without concern for their precise relationship in scale or location to larger geographical patterns.”¹⁰⁶ More than locating *place*, such as “Nijmegen” in Braun and Hogenberg’s *Civitates*, views solidify *time*—the city view and its key monuments create a time signature, a specific historical moment that a living resident-viewer could identify with. Kagan has shown how chorographic views of cities came to the fore in the North at the same time cities in Flanders and elsewhere were asserting their autonomy.¹⁰⁷ And as Alpers has argued, there is a structural relationship between engraved topographical city views, and painted city views, such as Vermeer’s *View of Delft* (1660, Mauritshuis, The Hague), the painter’s hometown.

What painted and printed views have primarily in common is the sense of local or regional pride they engendered in the people who lived there. Bruegel’s painting the *Fall of Icarus* (1558, Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts) is organized like his *Bay of Naples* (1556, Galleria Doria, Rome), but unlike *Naples*, no specific location is overtly identified. Yet given the painting’s iconography—stereotypical peasant, Dutch carrack—it can be identified as a Netherlandish port, perhaps Antwerp. This composition shows a large harbor with ships and a four-masted Dutch carrack, the long-distance mainstay of the merchant fleets, across a long, curved horizon, described by Gibson as a world landscape. In the foreground is a monumental, idealized peasant, plowing a tiered patch of earth. Barely discernable is the tiny figure of Icarus, who has crashed into the water to the stern of the carrack, his legs flailing in desperation. Ethan

¹⁰⁶ Cosgrove, 24.

¹⁰⁷ Kagan, 115-135.

Kavaler interprets this painting as “a vision of the world in order”: the plowman is the archetypal laborer, who evokes the authority of nature and is a symbol of patience and moderation, while Icarus “rejects his proper course” and is destroyed.¹⁰⁸ Larry Silver associates the ship in the painting with Antwerp industry, trade and prosperity.¹⁰⁹ Lyckle de Vries sees the painting as a literal interpretation of Ecclesiastes: “In the morning sow thy seed. . . .”¹¹⁰

In 1554 Bruegel began to design prints for his friend Hieronymus Cock, whose publishing house at the sign of the Four Winds, dominated the Antwerp print market until Cock’s death in 1570—after 1570 engraver Philip Galle (1537-1612) took over Cock’s shop in collaboration with Cock’s widow. Cock was best known for his engraved prints from designs of well-known painters, including Bruegel, Frans Floris (1517-1570), Italian masters, and compositions attributed posthumously to Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516). Cock also published large imperial maps sponsored by Philip II, including a 1553 wall map of Spain (Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar).¹¹¹ Cock was the only known publisher of large wall maps in the Netherlands during this period, and in 1562 he printed a map of America (Library of Congress, Washington D.C.), made in collaboration with Diego Gutiérrez (1554-1569).¹¹² Large wall maps featuring whole countries and continents were typically royal incentives, and these maps would

¹⁰⁸ Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 76.

¹⁰⁹ Larry Silver, “Pieter Bruegel in the capital of capitalism,” in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek: Pieter Bruegel* 47 (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1997), 124-153.

¹¹⁰ Lyckle de Vries, “Bruegel’s *Fall of Icarus*: Ovid or Solomon?” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30 (2003): no. ½, 17.

¹¹¹ See Cornelis Koeman, et al., “Commercial Cartography and map Production in the Low Countries, 1500-ca. 1672,” *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 2, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1300.

¹¹² Koeman, et al., “Commercial Cartography,” 1300; see also *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 6 (May 1949): no. 3, 18-20.

have been prominent commissions for Cock. In 1558, the same year Bruegel's *Fall of Icarus* was painted, the new guild restrictions were imposed on Antwerp book publishers and printmakers by the Spanish crown, and religious tensions between the Netherlands and her Spanish overlords were mounting.¹¹³

Charles V had lived in the Netherlands during the “golden age” of Antwerp before mid-century, and favored a Flemish court. The painter Herri met des Bles (a. 1510-1560) glorified Charles V in a world-view landscape that incorporated a seaport and cartographical themes. The *Landscape with John the Baptist* (Cleveland Museum of Art, c. 1540), shows John and his followers on a bank to the left of a seaport situated against a world-view landscape—the long, curved horizon stretching into the far distance. On the shores of the seaport, John baptizes Christ. The presence of Charles V is identified by a royal barge, with the Hapsburg eagle prominently displayed on canopy of honor located at the stern of the ship. The dove of the Holy Ghost hovers above Christ's head, and Charles' ship is positioned just above the dove. The close proximity of the Hapsburg royal barge to the sacred event validates Charles divinely-given authority. Charles was associated with Antwerp's “golden age,” and in Spain, he was criticized as *too* Flemish. Conversely, Philip II had a notoriously stunted relationship with his Netherlandish citizens, and presented himself as the consummate Spaniard. Philip inherited the Netherlands in 1555, so this translation of power would have been strongly felt at the time of Bruegel's *Icarus*.

Bruegel's engagement with the art of chorography has been identified, and it is tempting to see his *Icarus* as a painting that employs cartographical language to present a geopolitically

¹¹³ For 1558 guild restrictions see Van der Stock, *Printing Images*, 39-56.

charged anti-Spanish image that asserts regional identity over imperial.¹¹⁴ In this case, Herri's painting, which was an earlier work that employed a nearly-identical setting, can be seen conversely as presenting a pro-imperial sentiment. The idealized peasant, as argued by Margaret Carroll, was used to promote Netherlandish identity "in opposition to foreign intrusions,"—a construct which, after 1550, became a "crucial rallying point in the Netherlanders' war of independence from Spain."¹¹⁵ In this new age of shipping and industry associated with foreign powers, the peasant here would represent the important role of the industrious farmer as the most important resource in a pre-Hapsburg agrarian-based Netherlandish economy. The peasant was traditionally used this way in Netherlandish art, as seen in the Limbourg Brothers' *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (1410, Musée Condé, Chantilly). On the *March* calendar page, for example, an idealized peasant in the foreground calmly and methodically plows a patch of land. The image is divided into two zones: the fore- and middleground represent the Netherlandish land-based economy from which the Duke of Berry generated his wealth. The castle of Lusignan at the horizon, shown in profile, represents the princely powers. The *Très Riches Heures* includes a printed map of Rome, and one could argue the patches of land in *March* (as employed elsewhere in the manuscript) represent a cartographical depiction of 'the land.' The fields are seen from above with strongly delimited borders, thus employing the graphic language of cartography as seen in the Limbourg map of Rome. Alternatively, the castle, which fills the horizon, employs a chorographic mode, and its boundaries are indiscernible. The fields are shown in their entirety and arguably symbolize the countryside in general, associated with

¹¹⁴ For more on Bruegel and anti-Spanish political art, see Margaret D. Carroll, "The Conceits of Empire," in *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 64-87.

¹¹⁵ Margaret D. Carroll, "Peasant Festivity and Political Identity in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 10 (September 1987): no. 3, 289.

peasant labor. Notions of the land and peasant labor would take on special meaning in the Hapsburg Netherlands, and acquired a “distinct ethnic and political identity.”¹¹⁶

Bruegel’s peasant in *Icarus* plows a patch of land expressively delineated by strongly outlined tiers of earth rendered in a graphic mode. Like the fields in *March*, the land is overtly delimited and shown in-plan. The limitless horizon in *Icarus*, a worldview, may be associated with the broad, overarching power of the aristocracy—the Spanish monarchy which dominated the voyages of discovery and exploration to the New World. The Dutch carrack in the middleground speaks to contemporary Antwerp, and the role of merchant trade and industry in a changing world. It is also recognizable as the type of ornamentation used on sixteenth-century double-hemispheric world maps. In this composition, the size relationships associated with maps (eg., geographic outlines are larger than ornamental ships) are inverse, perhaps symbolically. Scholars have puzzled over the absence of Daedalus in Bruegel’s painting. He was, after all, the protagonist of the *Icarus* story. It is a cautionary tale of an arrogant young son’s ambition in a foreign territory of which he knows little, who separates himself from the wisdom of his likable father. With Charles V no longer in the picture, could the Icarus in Bruegel’s painting represent Philip? It is tempting to consider. What is clear here is Bruegel’s engagement with cartographic language, and the tension between geographic and chorographic modalities, in order to assert with pride Netherlandish regional identity in a world of change, now governed from Spain.

Philip, King of “the Spains,” Jerusalem & etc.: NON SUFFICIT ORBIS

Philip’s empire in 1581 was the first in the history of the world upon which the sun never set. It included Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; most of the Italian peninsula, Milan, Sicily and Sardinia; Tangier, Guinea, Angola, Mombasa, and Mozambique in

¹¹⁶ Carroll, 289.

Africa; Estado da India, Malacca, and Moluccas in the east, and Mexico, Florida, the Antilles, Peru and Brazil in the New World. He was also the titular King of Jerusalem, a title Charles V ceded to him in 1554 on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Tudor. The Ottoman Turks controlled the Holy Land during Philip's reign, so this title would have amounted to an imperial fantasy. In 1565 Philip sent Queen Elizabeth I of England a narrative of the failed Ottoman siege of Malta—a story which expounds the honor and divine privilege of the Christian knight. Despite their sometimes profound political and religious differences, Philip was attempting to promote their “shared Christian values and . . . the binding crusade obligations of the ‘true Christian prince’.”¹¹⁷ In 1570 Philip was the only foreign power to join Pope Pius V's Holy League, created to break the Turkish stronghold in the western Mediterranean.¹¹⁸ After a defeat at Cyprus, the League won the Battle of Lepanto off the coast of Greece, and was disbanded in 1573.

The title ‘King of Jerusalem’ was honorary and carried no real authority, but it was an ancient *titulus* Philip certainly promoted. Together with the many *real* titles Philip held, in 1581 he acquired the throne of Portugal, thus linking the two great monarchies of the Iberian Peninsula. A triumphal arch marking Philip's glorious entry into Lisbon the same year read, “The world, which was divided between your great-grandfather King Ferdinand the Catholic and your grandfather King Manuel of Portugal, is now linked into one, since you are lord of everything in the East and West.”¹¹⁹ Other iconography commissioned for the entry defined Philip as *Miles Christi*, the soldier of Christ, who dominates and governs the “Four parts of the

¹¹⁷ Matthew Dimmock, “The Tudor Experience of Islam,” in *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, ed. Kent Cartwright (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2010), 49.

¹¹⁸ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume I: Empire of the Gazis, The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 178.

¹¹⁹ Parker, 4.

world: Asia, Africa, Europe and America. . . .”¹²⁰ To mark the “union of the crowns” in 1583, a new gilded bronze medal (Museu Numismático Português, Lisbon) was cast which depicts a portrait bust of Philip on one side, and a globe mounted by a horse on the other, with the motto: *NON SUFFICIT ORBIS*: “The world is not enough.”¹²¹ Philip welcomed the notion of a universal monarchy. In 1586, the motto and globe were incorporated into the royal arms of Spain.¹²²

Managing his knotty, far-flung web of dominions was Philip’s consummate challenge, and as Geoffrey Parker has speculated, distance might have been his “public enemy number one.”¹²³ Despite his many challenges, Philip was an effective administrator, maintaining cohesion in his unwieldy empire. Juan de Solórzano Pereira, a seventeenth-century Spanish jurist, explained that there were two models in which a ruler could naturalize foreign territories.¹²⁴ The first way was to see the dominion as an “accessory,” regarded “juridically as part and parcel” of the king’s established kingdom—such was the case with the Spanish Indies which became incorporated into the Crown of Castile during Isabella’s reign.¹²⁵ The second way was known as *aeque principaliter*, in which the foreign polity was treated as distinct, preserving its own laws, customs and privileges—most of Philip’s European dominions fell into this second category. The New World territories were administered according to the first model, becoming a “mirror” of the government in Madrid. This was logical in regions that were perceived to have no existing

¹²⁰ Fernando Checa, *Felipe II: Mecenas de las Artes* (Madrid: Nerea, 1992), 271.

¹²¹ Parker, 4; this motto was an update of Charles V’s motto: “No Plus Ultra.”

¹²² *Ibid.*, 5.

¹²³ For more on Philip’s problem with distance, see Parker, 47-76.

¹²⁴ J. H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe & the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 7.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

“civilized” culture or system of law. In the Old World, the second model had many benefits—by allowing these long established European communities to retain their laws and customs, they were more likely to remain “friendly.”¹²⁶ And as “royal absenteeism was an inescapable feature of composite monarchies . . . (through a) degree of benign neglect, local elites enjoyed a measure of self-government which left them without any urgent need to challenge the status quo.”¹²⁷ This situation was challenged by developments in the sixteenth century, the most dangerous being the religious division of Europe. Aggressive religious nationalism was Philip’s solution. Certain that God willed confessional uniformity in his dominions, his overseas empire with its rich resources and newly baptized indigenous populations, was seen as an “indication of divine favor.”¹²⁸

Philip, like other rulers of his time, was interested in mapping his empire, and “he had the means to sponsor mapping projects and patronize cartographers on a level nearly unparalleled in the rest of Europe.”¹²⁹ Between 1560 and 1578, Philip commissioned several major geographical projects. Netherlandish artist Anton van den Wyngaerde (1525-1571) was hired to construct a series of chorographic views (1563, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek) of all the major Spanish cities. For this project, Van den Wyngaerde was commanded by Philip to physically travel around Spain and record the towns from life. Earlier views of cities, such as those in the *Nuremberg Chronicles*, were not taken from life and employed a contrived bird’s-

¹²⁶ Elliott, 8.

¹²⁷ Elliott, 10-11. See also David Buisseret, “Spanish Peninsular Cartography, 1500-1700,” *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 2, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1069-1094.

¹²⁸ Elliott, 13; that is, newly baptized by 1550.

¹²⁹ Mundy, 1; For these projects see Geoffrey Parker, “Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Hapsburgs,” in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 129.

eye view. A bird's-eye view was an effective perspective for including the most visual information about a city in one picture. In an era before skyscrapers, helicopters and photography, however, such perspectives were not practical for images recorded outdoors from life. Van den Wyngaerde's perspectives, composites of *actual* views, are shown from a slight elevation, and employ a panoramic format.¹³⁰ This chorographic project ultimately consisted of at least sixty-two views of over fifty Spanish cities.¹³¹ That they were realistic depictions of *actual* dominions demonstrated Philip's *actual* power, and he translated these chorographic views into large "map rooms" at the Escorial.

Another geographical enterprise, the *Relaciones geográficas* (1578-1584) consisted of government questionnaires to be sent to every town in Spain and the New World, requesting details about the area's "geography, economy, population and antiquities"—the questionnaires sent to New Spain were associated with surveys in preparation for a new map of the New World.¹³² While the questionnaire project was underway, Philip also sponsored a map of Spain (1585, Library of the Monastery of El Escorial) from his principle cartographer Pedro de Esquivel, an expert surveyor and professor of mathematics at the University of Alcalá de Henares.¹³³ Esquivel's topographical map of the Iberian Peninsula (remarkably detailed and accurate for its day) was described by a contemporary as, "without exaggeration the most careful and accurate description ever to be undertaken for any province since the creation of the world."¹³⁴ It was mythologized that Esquivel had surveyed every "inch" of Spain "checking the

¹³⁰ Parker, "Ministers," 129.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 130; Mundy, 11-27.

¹³³ Parker, "Ministers," 130.

¹³⁴ According to Felipe de Guevara from *Comentarios de la pintura* (Madrid, 1564); see Parker, "Ministers," 130.

accuracy of everything with his own hands and eyes,” and the map became the frontispiece of the so-called Escorial atlas, a series of twenty-one regional maps that surveyed the whole peninsula. These are the largest European maps of their time to utilize detailed ground surveys.¹³⁵ Philip wanted both the Van den Wyngaerde’s chorographic cityscapes and Esquivel’s atlas maps to be viewed together to “make visible the two natures of his Spanish realm, one regional, the other national.”¹³⁶ Mundy describes the Escorial map of the Iberian Peninsula as the “key map” which reflects Philip’s pan-Iberian kingdom, and a reflection of his attempt to use maps in order to “harness the competitive forces of nationalism and regionalism.”¹³⁷

The late Renaissance scientific-rationalist approach led to a Euclidian-Albertian model in mapping, which was expressed in uniform geometric projections, and is the guiding force behind both these maps and views.¹³⁸ Esquivel imagined a Euclidian grid, “cast like a net over Spain,” with each square comprising a regional map, and Van den Wyngaerde’s views, also scientific, employed Albertian linear perspective.¹³⁹ In both approaches, man defines his relationship to the world by his ability to measure it: Both sets of geographic material employ concepts of the built environment *inside*, or surrounded by, topography. In the views, the buildings are set “within the embracing contours of the landscape”; with the regional maps, topography is brought “to the

¹³⁵Parker, “Ministers,” 130.

¹³⁶ Mundy, 3.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 1, 3; for more on Philip and mapping as a means of controlling nationalism versus regionism, see John M. Headley, “Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero’s Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (Winter 2000): no. 4, 1122.

¹³⁸ Headley, 4.

¹³⁹ Mundy, 4.

fore,” and within that structure, the cities are marked with signs and names.¹⁴⁰ The geographic-chorographic “dual model” was “perhaps the most important classifying scheme for maps in sixteenth-century Europe,” popularized in part by the widely circulated *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and Ortelius’ *Theatrum*.¹⁴¹

So why did this “dual-mode” resonate so widely with a sixteenth-century European audience?¹⁴² Arguably, it can be associated with sixteenth-century notions of empire, and the tensions between regional and imperial perspectives. As Kagan points out, Van den Wyngaerde’s “vision was that of a Fleming whose political loyalties were steadfastly local. Consequently, his Spain was a collection of independent cities rather than a unified realm.”¹⁴³ Philip’s geo-political perspective would have been more broadly defined—the regional maps and chorographic views served as surrogates for Philip’s physical presence in those dominions. And if individual polities used chorographic views in an attempt to assert their regional autonomy, then Philip found the “antidote” in the “key map” of Spain, in which “the space of the nation was not pictured as autonomous and competitive cities, but as a continuous and politically undifferentiated geographic expanse.”¹⁴⁴ Most of all, the body of the nation outlined on the map suggests the body of the king, as the nation is the king’s creation, in all its cultural diversity, it is held together by his person, his inheritances, his administration and his conquests.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Mundy, 4-5.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Kagan, 128.

¹⁴⁴ Mundy, 7.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., for the relationship between maps and state identity, see Richard L. Kagan and Benjamin Schmidt, “Maps and the Early Modern State: Official Cartography,” *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 661-679.

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible's visual program reflects this geographic-chorographic approach, with an attendant play of spatial relationships, as a critical mode of exposition. Space relationships associated with boundaries were a trope in the art, ceremony and graphic language of Philip II's court. This was demonstrated in Philip's triumphal entry into a "virgin" Antwerp in 1549, in anticipation of Charles V's translation of power to his son.¹⁴⁶ Before entering the city, Philip stopped "at the exact boundary of Antwerp's jurisdiction, in which (he) pledged to honor the city's traditional privileges, guaranteeing the rights of the municipality and its citizens."¹⁴⁷ Upon entering the city, Philip's parade route was lined with a series of triumphal arches. Colossal statues of Hercules and Atlas "shouldering the weight of the world" topped one of the arches.¹⁴⁸ The text to accompany this arch read, "Heaven and the stars are ruled by God; the earth and the depths of the sea by the Emperor and his son."¹⁴⁹ Mark Meadow explains: "one ancient founding myth is counterposed against another; one embodiment of power and identity resonates across the square with another . . . (thus) identity and power are negotiated through the expedencies of place. . . ."¹⁵⁰ In other words, power and identity resonate across place *and* time.

The chorographic-geographic modality employed in the Polyglot imagery can be associated with Philip's desire to promote Spain as the new Holy Land, with Madrid as the navel of his multi-cultural world empire, and the Escorial, its towering umbilicus.¹⁵¹ This play of spatial relationships as a tool in Philip's geopolitical schema was best demonstrated in 1561

¹⁴⁶ Meadow, 40-48.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 47.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 58.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Meadow, 59.

¹⁵¹ Edgerton, 48-50.

when he moved the capital of Spain to Madrid, which is situated in the geographical center of Spain. Philip also wanted to create a “national genealogy” for Madrid, and Montano was the “most prolific” member of Philip’s “virtual institute” of “biblical antiquity” from which this genealogy was constructed.¹⁵² Beaver argues that the “greatest achievement of the institute in this regard was the Polyglot. . . .”¹⁵³ While Beaver does not extend Philip’s initiatives to the Polyglot’s iconographical program specifically, he does explain how Philip used *historia sacra* in order to build a “virtual empire” in which he is defined as the new Solomon:

Through its scholarly and artistic endeavors, Philip’s antiquarian institute forges a vision of the physical Holy Land that was more detailed, more vivid, and more accurate than any other vision yet achieved by the developing discipline of *historia sacra*. It would not be far-fetched to say that they also brought the Holy Land under Spanish control. As is well known, Philip was one of the first European monarchs to appreciate the extent to which cataloguing, surveying, and collecting the knowledge and objects of his empire could be used not only to make better tactical decisions, but also to make better propaganda . . . the terrain, peoples, and history of the Holy Land would be transported to Spanish soil. . . . There, they would be retooled as the building blocks of a Spanish national identity in which Spain became a new Holy Land—a literal new Jerusalem.¹⁵⁴

The institute’s activities included some strictly “nationalist initiatives,” such as the production of the first complete edition of the works of Isidore of Seville.¹⁵⁵ Central to this national genealogy was Philip’s plan to reconstruct “the ancient civilizations of biblical Levant,” for which he ordered architectonic studies of the Temple of Solomon, “the results of which were absorbed into Spanish royal architecture.”¹⁵⁶ Montano, who was closely associated with the Escorial project and the library’s chief curator, was well aware of the king’s ambitions in this regard: “More than

¹⁵² Beaver, 108.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 16.

¹⁵⁴ Beaver, 16-17.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 15.

¹⁵⁶ Jerónimo Prado (1547-1608) and Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552-1608), members of Philip’s “virtual institute,” were engaged to produce an architectural study of the Temple of Solomon; Beaver, “Holy Land,” 16.

a mere depository of books and curios, Philip's library was a scholarly 'complex' designed to enable the pursuit of a totalizing vision of Spanish identity commensurate with Philip's royal image."¹⁵⁷ To achieve his end, Philip had to establish a Hebrew patrimony for Spain, and fashion himself the new Josiah, guardian of sacred writ. Beaver argues that it was "Montano's intention to use the Polyglot as a vehicle for demonstrating the centrality of geographical knowledge to biblical exegesis."¹⁵⁸ Montano's Hebrew sources, such as the obscure book of Abdias, showed him that the topography of the Holy Land could also yield unanticipated insight into the genealogy of modern Spain and that certain toponyms mentioned in Abdias referred to places on the Iberian Peninsula; Spaniards, therefore, could prove their direct lineage from the ancient Israelites.¹⁵⁹ Beaver concludes that, "in a remarkable example of the power of productive misunderstanding to change history, Arias Montano's hackneyed hypothesis about Old Testament geography became a foundational legend of Spanish historiography . . . to answer Philip's need to reinvent Spain as a New Jerusalem capable of rivaling Rome."¹⁶⁰

The Polyglot favors the Hebrew language (as did Montano), and this is visually apparent across the eight volumes. The Polyglot's images of Josiah, the high priest Aaron, and the detailed drawings of Solomon's temple and its utensils—as an expression of the Escorial "institute" initiatives—can be associated with Philip's desire to identify himself with these patriarchs. The regional maps of the Holy Land and Jerusalem, a metaphor of Madrid, are

¹⁵⁷ Beaver, 14. For more on the iconography of the Escorial library, see Checa, 380-387.

¹⁵⁸ Beaver, 109-110.

¹⁵⁹ Abdias was a minor prophet who wrote the shortest of the minor prophetic books. It describes the fate of Edom (a region south of the Dead Sea whose people are descendants of Esau) which is destroyed by thieves and former friends for not coming to Jerusalem's aid when she is sacked. Edom is in ruins while Israel expands. Montano's commentary on Abdias was published in *Commetaria in duodecim prophetas* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1571); see Beaver, 112.

¹⁶⁰ Beaver, 112-113.

shown over time, from pre- to post-conquest. The chorographic city views of, for example, the *Domus Israel* in volume four, reflect an idealized vision of a submissive “accessory” nation. These regional maps and views are united on the “key map” of the world, which proves Spain’s Hebrewish patrimony by its signs and names. The double-hemispheric world map, as a “scientific” representation of the known world, ties Philip’s cosmology to the contemporary Spanish empire—each of his dominions quite literally *on the map*. The world map’s relationship to Spain’s sixteenth-century dominions is emphasized in volume one by Philip’s individual letters to kingdoms in his realm, written in the vernacular of that region and signed by the king. Philip sought religious hegemony in his diverse dominions, and attempted to use Christianity as a unifying principle. With the New World as an “accessory” dominion, it became an extension of Madrid. The “Hebrew-Indian” ties the Old World to the New in its origin myth—this construction thus initiates the baptized Amerindian populations into Philip’s cosmology and validates the authority of the New World Viceroyalties. This geopolitical worldview is demonstrated on the double-hemispheric world map, which describes the sons of Noah crossing from the Old World to the post-diluvian paradise washed clean by the flood.

Philip promoted a brand of Catholicism that was founded in antiquity, fiercely orthodox, supported by antiquarian modes of inquiry, and above all, Spanish. The preeminence of the Catholic faith in the face of its Protestant enemies was justified by its Hebrewish origins, that is, its great antiquity. The authoritative sacred text of the Polyglot was the ideal vehicle for such a program, magisterially presented across eight monumental, richly illustrated volumes. Philip famously said he would rather rule over no kingdom at all than a kingdom of heretics. Of all Philip’s foreign dominions, his Netherlandish states were the cause of the most anxiety during his long reign. Antwerpia, unlike her errant Dutch cousins, “(gave) herself willingly,” and

produced for her king a *Biblia regia*, which would unite the disparate nations in one universal *Ynglesia*.¹⁶¹ It promised to bring great glory to Philip's name, esteem and reputation throughout the world—remaining so for many centuries—by Latins, Greeks, Syrians, and all Jews, “who would appreciate the great majesty and benefit of this work.”¹⁶² For Philip, King of “the Spains,” Jerusalem, & etc., the world he constructed in the geography of his mind *was* enough.

¹⁶¹ From Antwerp triumphal entry; see Meadow, 53.

¹⁶² Chapter 2, note 1, above.

CHAPTER 3

A CATALOGUE OF THE ANTWERP POLYGLOT BIBLE'S VISUAL PROGRAM

Lest you think that anything pertinent to the splendor of this regal work had been omitted, illustrations, artfully engraved in copper, have been included in the appropriate places.

—Benito Arias Montano¹

Overview of the 8 Volumes: The Polyglot as a Cosmography of Philip's Imperial Vision

The most striking characteristic of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible is how little of it comprises a bible. The Christian Bible proper, that is, the Old and New Testament books organized canonically from Genesis to Apocalypse, makes up four and one half of the eight volumes. The balance comprises letters, maps, dictionaries, discourses, archeological details, architectural drawings, weights, measures and histories. The result is something more like a bible within an encyclopedia or cosmography. As Anthony Grafton points out in *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*, “(sixteenth-century) readers had a keen appetite for encyclopedic works which summed up between two covers all the intellectual disciplines and their results.”²

Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum Humanae Vitae* (Basel, 1565), which was an encyclopedia of “all” human knowledge, is an example of such a work, as is Montano's *Naturae Historia* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1601).³ The cultural practice of compiling, collecting and categorizing,

¹ Montano in the second preface of volume I, “In qua de totius operis usu, dignitate, & apparatu ex ordine differitur . . . Ne vero quidquam, quod ad regii plane operis splendorem pertinere videbatur, praetermissum existimes: singulae tabulae, aere artificiose celatae, suis locis insertae sunt,” Benito Arias Montano, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine*, Vol. I (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), fol. 18r.

² Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), 13-14.

³ Zwinger may have owned the Polyglot edition currently held by the Pitts Theological Library, Emory University (Atlanta); see Chapter 5 below. Montano's *Historia* published posthumously.

arguably applied to Philip more than any other European prince.⁴ During the flowering of sixteenth-century humanist scholarship in Europe, sacred scripture remained the primary authoritative source and was central to European cosmologies. The canonical texts in their original languages, moreover, presented a treasure trove of philological information from which a scholar such as Montano could draw in order to support a range of polemical arguments. These authoritative works, “furnished the basic body of unchallengeable statements which the specialists manipulated logically to . . . efficiently construct whatever structure of doctrine he might need.”⁵

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible, without question, is an exposition of sacred scripture drawn from the ancient languages. But unlike the earlier Complutensian Polyglot, the text is also embedded within a framework of commentary, illustrations, and maps that present a strong imperial imperative. The sacred text is the authoritative foundation upon which Philip’s cosmology of empire is constructed—if Reformers could hail *sola scriptura* as their lodestar for universal truth, the argument goes, so could Philip. Such treatment of canonical texts “imprisoned in an armor of commentary,” was a common intellectual practice during the period.⁶ The Polyglot employs such a compositional structure, in which the commentaries, illustrations and maps provide an “armor” east and west of the sacred text. Plantin also manipulated a range of textual elements in order to visually highlight specific areas of text.

The meaning of the illustrations and maps (when viewed all together and in order) is

⁴ *Philip II and the Escorial: Technology and the Representation of Architecture*, exhib. cat. (Providence: David Winton Bell Gallery, Brown University, 1990), 8.

⁵ Grafton, 24; for cartography in Spanish literature of this kind, see Simone Pinet, “Literature and Cartography in Early Modern Spain: Etymologies and Conjectures,” *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 469-476.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

elucidated by the historical context in which the Polyglot was made, as presented in the discussions above. First, the role of Antwerp as a book printing center must be considered. This role was brought about, in part, as a result of the Protestant revolt and the resulting decline in Antwerp panel painting. Antwerp's dominance as a book printing center can also be associated with northern Hebraism, literal approaches to scripture, and the availability of Hebrew type. To a lesser degree, Antwerp's role as a book printing center also accounts for the stock figures used in the Polyglot imagery (such as those Quadt von Kinkelbach criticized). Second, the Polyglot's visual corpus and organization needs to be considered within the broader cultural habits of collecting and contemporary 'map-mania.' This accounts, in part, for the encyclopedic structure of the Polyglot, as well as choice and design of the illustrations and maps, which were borrowed from earlier designs. The popular use of cartographic language as a way of asserting regional identity in the Netherlands is also significant, if conversely, the goal of the Polyglot is to use maps in order to assert imperial imperatives. Third, given Philip's geopolitical ambitions and world view, as well as his other mapping projects, it is important to see the Polyglot's visual program and purpose as heavily influenced by the imperial agenda centered in Madrid. Finally, for an audience illiterate in Hebrew and Syriac, the illustrations and maps would have been readily appreciated. The oriental type of these Semitic languages would have been understood visually—seen as exotica which coincided with the Polyglot's multi-national character. What follows is a catalogue of the Polyglot's visual program presented chronologically from the beginning of volume one. Plantin provides explicative essays on the illustrations, as well as a table of contents, so we know with certainty the order in which the images should be viewed.⁷

⁷ Some copies of the Polyglot have been bound with the contents out of order, or entire folios such as the world map are missing. Such is the case with the Pitts copy, in which the *Baptism of Christ* has been moved to volume VIII. Some of these inconsistencies will be treated in Chapter 5 below.

Volume I: SACRORIUM BIBLIORUM TOMUS PRIMUS

Fig. 3-1 (vol. I, folio 3 recto). Pieter van der Heyden after Crijspijn van den Broeck (?), *Pietatis Concordiae*, main titlepage, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Volume one of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible opens to three elaborately detailed folio-sized engraved images. The first is the bible's main titlepage which reads: *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine*. The four languages, Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek and Latin are shown each in a distinctive script and surrounded by a vegetal wreath. Plantin describes the titlepage's details in his "*Tabularum in Regiis Bibliis Depictarum Brevis Explicatio*": "A Brief Explanation of the Plates Depicted in the Royal Bible," which is a five-page essay toward the end of the introductory material in volume one. Plantin tells us that the four varieties of leaves that make up the wreath symbolize the four languages of the polyglot: the palm symbolizes Hebrew; the willow, Chaldean; the olive, Greek, and the oak, Latin. Below this title, four animals rest in a semi-circle around a feeding trough: an ox; a lion eating hay, and a lamb resting on a wolf's back. They are set in a landscape with the words PIETATIS CONCORDIAE, "Pious harmony," or "the harmony of piety," inscribed in a strapwork frame below. The image is taken from Isaiah 11: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the calf and the lion and the sheep shall abide together and a little child shall lead them . . . and the lion shall eat straw like the ox . . . they shall not hurt, nor shall they kill in all my holy mountain, for the earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the covering waters of the sea."⁸ Plantin explains that the animals indicate different nations of people: Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Latins—who will one day live in obedience and Christian harmony as foretold by Isaiah; Plantin continues, "The first plate shows harmony of all in the empire by worship and

⁸ DRV 11:6-9; Douay-Rheims Version; DRV used throughout unless otherwise indicated. The DRV is the standard English transliteration of the traditional Vulgate.

study of the Christian religion.”⁹ The figures are enclosed by an architectural surround of Corinthian columns, lintel and pediment. The Holy Ghost is situated in effigy in the center of the arcuated pediment flanked by open books, the Old and New Testaments.¹⁰ On the architectural base is written: “Philip II, Pious Catholic King, with a Holy Zeal for the Universal Church.” Below this text is “Executed by Christopher Plantin, Antwerp.” To the right of this inscription on the face of the podium is Plantin’s printer’s mark and motto, *Constantia et Labore*, “Through Perseverance and Labor.” His printer’s mark is also shown, which is a hand with a compass.¹¹ On the face of the left podium is Montano’s *imprese*, the running Archimedes exclaiming “Eureka!” This titlepage was designed by Montano, and as is tied to Montano’s general preface, “On the Dignity of Holy Scripture, the Use of Languages, and the Catholic King’s Wisdom.”¹² The titlepage was engraved by Pieter van der Heyden (1530-1575) possibly after Crispijn van den Broeck (1523-1591).¹³ Van der Heyden was a famous Antwerp *figuersnydere* best known for his engravings after Pieter Bruegel, including *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (1557, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).¹⁴ Van den Broeck, a successful

⁹ Plantin in the “Brief Explanation” in volume I: “Prima tabula continet significationem concordiae omnium Imperiorum in Christianae Religionis cultum & studium. Assyriorum enim & Persarum, nec non Graecorum & Latinorum nationes certis animantium imaginibus indicantur: quas omnes in Christi Regni obedientiam conspiraturas Isaias praedicebat,” Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. I, folio 45r. Castro and Voet describe the union of the animals as a symbol of the union of “los pueblos,” the people or the nations; See Castro and Voet, *La Biblia Políglota*, 9.

¹⁰ Hänsel, 28.

¹¹ Rosier, *Netherlandish Bible*, Vol. 1, 81.

¹² Clifton and Melion, *Scripture for the Eyes*, 28; the translation is mine—Melion uses “divine” not “holy” scripture, and “good-judgment” rather than “wisdom.” For Montano’s prefaces translated and annotated in Spanish, see María Asunción Sánchez Manzano, ed., *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano La Biblia Regia de Felipe II* (León: Universidad de León, 2006).

¹³ Melion suggests Van den Broeck may have created the design; Ibid., 26.

¹⁴ A *figuersnydere* was a professional engraver hired by a printer to carve a design on a printing plate, typically after someone else’s design. Van der Stock, *Printing Images*, 271; Van der Heyden was also referred to in period documents as a *coperen plaetsnider* or “copper engraver;” Ibid., 43.

Antwerp *peintre-graveur*, was a pupil of Frans Floris and collaborated with Frans Pourbus, and may have rendered the design for this print.¹⁵ This is the earliest known example of an engraved pictorial titlepage for a printed liturgical work produced in the Netherlands, and illustrations were rare in Catholic bible editions in the sixteenth-century.¹⁶ The Complutensian Polyglot included a red and black woodcut titlepage with Cardinal Ximenes's coat of arms and a vegetal surround (Fig. 3-1a), but the edition was not illustrated.¹⁷

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible thus provides the early modern archetype for luxury printed royal bibles. It was also intended to provide a new standard in biblical scholarship to counter Protestant “upheavals and challenges.”¹⁸ Montano describes this threat to Christian unity in which the “depraved interpretation” of biblical texts was conceived “by the power of which (the devil) corrupted many ingenious and judicious minds, destroyed innumerable souls, and miserably disordered the Christian Republic.”¹⁹ Montano expounds this threat at length in the *Praefatio* of the Antwerp Polyglot, and says that no age in the memory of man had been so miserable and turbulent—this because of Christian Europeans drawn into error and alienated

¹⁵ See Van der Stock, *Printing Images*, 278.

¹⁶ Bowen and Imhof, *Engraved Book*, 92. For a survey of decorative titlepages in cartographic works see Rodney Shirley, *Courtiers and Cannibals, Angels and Amazons: The Art of the Decorative Cartographic Titlepage* (Houten: HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV, 2009).

¹⁷ The Complutensian, also known as the Alcalá Polyglot, 6 vols. (1517-1522, Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldo Guillén), edited by Cardinal Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1436-1517), founder of the University of Alcalá de Henares (Complutum). The titlepage reads, “*Vetus Testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum. Et imprimis Pentateuchus Hebraico Greco atque Chaldaico idomate. Adiuncta unicuique sua Latina interpretatione.*” “The Old Testament now printed for the first time in multiple languages. The Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean languages are printed next to the Latin translation.”

¹⁸ Bowen and Imhof, 84.

¹⁹ Montano in first preface of volume I: “Inprimis enim divinarum literarum auctoritatem & dignitatem commendatam, atque humanae sapientiae, prudentiae, & iudicio omni (ut par erat) praelatam: postea perversarum interpretationum & depravationum exitiali veneno inspersit; cuius vi plurimorum hominum ingenia & iudicia corripit, innumerabilesque perdidit animas, ac denique Christianam misere perturbavit Rempublicam;” Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. I, fol. 12r.

from the Roman Church. As a result, Montano explains, one sees hatred, discord and many factions, like the nations of the past, scattered in different directions with divided families.²⁰ Philip's Polyglot was intended to remedy this Protestant threat—and so to counter the devil and his agents Montano tells us, “God inspired Philip II, the Catholic King of Spain, the most powerful prince, with earnest Christian piety for the good of our holy Church and the whole Republic to consider how the sacred books, ancient languages, and best translations might diligently be gathered and composed for the common welfare and tranquility of the many nations divinely given to him and most faithfully received the pursuit of piety and pure religion is acknowledged to be the principal, greatest and strongest foundation for the establishment of the state.”²¹ In other words, Philip II via his Polyglot brings peace and unity to the Christian world and therefore the many nations in his empire. It is important to note here that when Montano mentions Philip in the *Praefatio*, there is a change in typeface and the king's name is given in all capital letters—for an audience of skimmers, it was important that Philip's name not be missed. This unity among peoples described by Montano is visualized by the animals on the title page,

²⁰ “Nulla vero post hominum memoriam praeteritorum temporum aetate. majorem & nocentiorum hominum animis zizaniorum copiam. in hoc veritatis & sapientiae aruo, malignus ille spiritus disseminasse deprehenditur, quam miserrima & turbulentissima hac tempestate, cum maximam totius Europae Christianorum partem, variis & grauibus erroribus ductam. atque ab Ecclesiae Romanae omnium catholicorum & legitimorum ministrorum capitis communi obseruantia abalienatam. odiis, dissidiis, pluribusque fectis & factionibus, quam linguis olim gentes apud famosam illam Baylonem distinctae, dissipatae & in varia familias, atque adeo in varia studia diductae fuisse leguntur, misere distraxerit. & tandem seditionibus pene euerterit. ex quo quidem loco ac tempore tot tantasque discordias, contentiones, ac teterrima bella orta, & diutius, quam par esset, in orbe terrarum grassata esse existimamus,” Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. I, fol. 11r.

²¹ “Deus, (hodierno die etiam effecit, ne res tanti ponderis ac momenti ab illo malorum omnium auctore, illiusque ministris, in id, quod expectari ac timeri poterat, diserimen, adduceretur;) eamque mentem Philippo II Catholico Hispaniarum Regi, & Principi potentissimo, & Christianae pietatis studiosissimo, (iniecit, ut inter quamplurima consilia, quae pietatis, & divini cultus,) publicae utilitatis sacrosanctae Ecclesiae, ac denique totius Reipubl. (Christianae gratia, ab ipso prudentissime inita, fortissime suscepta,) felicissimeque sunt peracta, de sacris etiam libris, antiquis linguis, & earum optimis interpretationibus, qua fieri potest diligentia, (inter se collatis, excudendis, is etia deliberaret;) utpote cui inter plurimas ad commune salutem, & tranquillitate multarum gentium, & nationum a se gubernandarum divinitus datas, & fidelissime susceptas curas, unum pietatis ac religionis purae studium, praecipuum, & maximum, atque ad omnem publicam rem stabiliendam firmissimum fundamentum esse constat;” Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. I, folio 14v.

which as Plantin describes, represent the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Latins, that is, the primary faiths as represented by these major ethnic groups—Jews, Muslims, Eastern Rite Christians and Roman Catholics. Hänsel argues that Montano took this a step further with an eschatological vision in which all will coexist in peace.²² This would relate to the late sixteenth-century notions of *Concordia mundi*. Rekers argues that the Polyglot’s initial collaborators, Plantin, Masius and Postel intended that “this Polyglot was to be in the service of the *unio christiana*, an ideal which found support among progressive biblical scholars as well as those merchants who considered religious tolerance to be beneficial to international trade in the port of Antwerp.”²³ Hänsel points out that with the call to end the religious wars in the Netherlands ca. 1570, Philip II became a patron of biblical languages, and at the same time, took on the role of peacemaker.²⁴ Both Hänsel and Rekers arguments fall short. What scholars have failed to notice or discuss is the massive cannon guarding the seaport in the landscape behind the animals (Fig. 3-1b), which is a port filled with triple-masted Spanish galleons. Here, the “harmony of all in the empire by worship and study of the Christian religion,” as described by Plantin, is safeguarded by Spanish military might. “The lion shall eat straw like the ox” and “nor shall they kill in all my holy mountain, for the earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the covering waters of the sea”—not because Philip altruistically “took on the role of peacemaker,” but because he had the advantage of “true” religion, and also the biggest guns.

To the left and right of the port and gun are settlements nestled in the cliffs and hills. There is *staffage* in the middleground, figures holding walking sticks journeying along winding

²² Hänsel, 30.

²³ Rekers, 70-71.

²⁴ Hänsel, 30-31.

paths. In the center of the image in the distance on a spit of land over the lion's head is a large cannon pointed out to sea. For Philip, *Pietatis Concordiae* would occur when all the nations of his empire and the world embraced the true faith—by force if necessary. In 1566 Philip petitioned Pope Pius V: “(do not forget) the great and numerous obligations and burdens that I bear in the maintenance and protection of my kingdoms, in the continuous war that I wage against the infidel, and in the defense of Christendom and the public cause of the Catholic religion.”²⁵

Montano was not calling for an ecumenical brotherhood of man *per se*, but a unification of all people through baptism in the true faith—that is, the “pure religion” offered by Philip that the nations could “faithfully receive.” Montano hoped harmony could be achieved through intellectual enlightenment as offered by the king's Polyglot. He believed that readers would be inspired to embrace the true religion by the wisdom hidden in the arcane text. To facilitate this understanding, Montano included Hebrew and Greek dictionaries and grammars in the Polyglot's scholarly appendix. Montano and Philip's goals were the same: peace and harmony among all people in the Roman Catholic faith as offered by Philip and expounded in his Polyglot. While Montano recommended close study of the original languages of the sacred text in order to uncover the divine wisdom, it is likely that many sixteenth-century viewers would have read only the Latin prefaces and admired the images. Physical examination of various Antwerp Polyglot editions indicates copious wear in the introductory pages and less in the body of the volumes.²⁶ It is difficult to imagine that many readers would avail themselves of the Polyglot's dictionaries in order to teach themselves Hebrew and Greek—a challenging task even if it were

²⁵ Parker, 92.

²⁶ Such for example, is the case with the Pitts edition.

attempted. As with Henry III, educated Europeans could read Latin, and while some (such as Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart) were literate in Greek, very few could read Hebrew. The Antwerp Polyglot owned by the Pitts Theological Library (Emory University, Atlanta), for example, is remarkably stiff in the Old Testament books, the pages in pristine condition and lacking marginal accretions. It is clear these sections in this particular edition were never closely read. The Prefaces, however, have been copiously handled and include many marginal notes and corrections in Latin. The Polyglot's eight volumes offered a wealth of information, and the presentation of such heady erudition (whether or not audiences were edified by it) would have promoted Philip as the source and benefactor of this wisdom, and ultimately, pious harmony among nations. This message would have been immediately apparent in the Polyglot's opening images and in Montano's prefaces.

Fig. 3-2 (vol. I, folios 3 verso and 4 recto). Pieter van der Heyden after Crijspijn van den Broeck (?), *Pietas Regia* (left) and *Arcani Consilii Apparatio: The Pentateuchal Covenants* (right), dedicatory frontispiece opening, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

On the verso of the Polyglot's titlepage is an allegory of Philip as Josiah in the personification of *Pietas Regia* or Royal Piety holding the Polyglot (Fig. 3-2a), and is the left-side image of what I suggest is a two-page frontispiece opening.²⁷ The image of Philip as Josiah relates to the right-side image of *The Pentateuchal Covenants* (Fig. 3-2b), and there is no precedent in printed sacred books for such an arrangement of figural frontispieces. While Melion and Hänsel see a thematic connection in the frontispieces, the two images are never described as a paired opening. They appear, however, thematically, iconographically and compositionally paired. Plantin states that the image of *Pietas Regia* was "determined by Arias

²⁷ These two images are never discussed together or as a paired opening. Bowen and Imhof incorrectly describe this personification as Philip II "represented as the new Joshua;" Bowen and Imhof, 91. For more on the iconography of the *Pietas Regia*, see Chris Coppens, "Een kijk op het Woord. De titelbladen van Plantins bijbels. Een iconografische verkenning," *De Gulden Passer* 66-67 (1988-89): 195-200.

Montano in order to demonstrate the piety of King Philip and his fervor for the Catholic faith.”²⁸

The personification of *Pietas Regia* is a bare-breasted female, whom Hänsel suggests is taken from iconography of the goddess Diana.²⁹ In a more general way, this figure can be associated with Northern Mannerism, a type of figural representation peculiar to the Netherlands in the later sixteenth century. More specifically, personifications were traditionally presents as idealized females in wet or revealing drapery. The figure is set against a barren landscape, but the light of divine wisdom shines on the open pages of the bible in the figure’s hand, and an altar of fire dedicated to the Holy Trinity burns below the Polyglot, inscribed with D.P.F.SS. PATRUM NOSTRORUM S.: “Sacred to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost of Our Forefathers.”³⁰

“Forefathers” is significant here given the narratives associated with the Forefathers on the facing illustration.

The unusually large sun is Christ the “light of the world,” (John 8:12) the new covenant which illuminates the old, and shines on the Polyglot containing both the Old and New Testaments. The inscription on the podium tells the reader that the image is dedicated to Philip II, Catholic King of Spain, who makes religious atonement by establishing renewed piety, as memorial to Josiah. Philip’s identification with Josiah, King of Judah, is clear through the inscriptions on the cartouches, 4 Kings 22 and 4 Kings 23. Josiah ruled ca. 600 BCE after a period of corruption in which the Temple was profaned by pagan worship—the people had forgotten the sacred Word and turned away from God. Josiah became known for his important reforms, including the reinstitution of the Book of the Law, the renovation of the Temple of

²⁸ Bowen and Imhof, 89.

²⁹ Hänsel, 31.

³⁰ See Clifton and Melion, 29.

Solomon, and battling heresy by disbanding the cult of Baal. These three attributes are the primary ways Philip tried to promote himself: king, architect and priest. The large cartouche above Royal Piety makes the connection between Philip and Josiah clear, “And the king stood upon the step and made a covenant with the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies and his ceremonies . . . and to perform the words of this covenant, which were written in that book, and the people agreed to the covenant;” the passage goes on to say, “And he destroyed the soothsayers, whom the kings of Juda had appointed to sacrifice in the high places. . . .”³¹ As the new Josiah, Philip saw himself as one of the “few people in the world” trusted with the guardianship of the true religion—Philip wrote, “the few of us who remain must take greater care of Christendom, and if necessary we will lose everything in order to do what we should. . . .”³² Philip stands on a podium holding a representation of the Polyglot in his left hand, with his right hand on a shield emblazoned with his royal coat of arms. The inscription on the page of the open Polyglot is not mentioned in the scholarship, but is key to the interpretation of this image and its relationship to the facing page. It is from Deuteronomy 17:18, and refers to making a “copy” (i.e. a facsimile) of the Law: “But after he is raised to the throne of his kingdom, he shall copy out to himself the Deuteronomy of this law in a volume.”³³

The word “Deuteronomy” has been erroneously translated as a “second” Law, when in fact it refers to a “copy” of the Law, and this passage from Deuteronomy has an important connection with King Josiah. As part of his reforms, Josiah ordered the Temple to be purified and rebuilt; during construction a copy of the Law (which had been lost to the people) was found. Jews

³¹ 4 Kings 22-23 *passim*; 4 Kings 23:3-5.

³² Parker, 92-93.

³³ The inscription on the page reads, “Post qua sederit Rex in solio suo describit sibi. Duete.”

believed that the recovered book was Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy, as a “copy” of the Law, is a reiteration of the Words given in the first four books of the Pentateuch. A parallel is made here between Deuteronomy as a “copy” of the Law and the Polyglot. The Polyglot, as a new edition of sacred scripture, was not a “new” book *per se*, but a copy or reiteration of the Law using up-to-date philological methods. Biblical scholars argue that Deuteronomy contains a “covenantal substructure,” which is a “re-presentation and inculcation of the requirements of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel.”³⁴ According to Christian interpretation, the Deuteronomic covenant was fulfilled in Christ as prophesied in Deuteronomy 18:15 and revealed in Acts 3:22-23: “For Moses said: A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me, him you shall hear . . . And it shall be that every soul which will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed among the people.” The implication is that the king’s perfected translation contains the mysteries of the new covenant as concealed in the old, that is, “the Deuteronomy (copy) of this law in a volume,” and those who do not believe will be “destroyed.”³⁵ The connections between the old and the new covenants are important in relation to the *Pietas Regia*’s facing image, *The Pentateuchal Covenants*, as we shall see.

Like the Polyglot’s titlepage *Pietatis Concordiae*, the *Pietas Regia* invokes military might as a fundamental weapon of piety. As Melion has pointed out, Royal Piety is crowned with an olive wreath, a symbol of the arts and sciences, and is handed a palm frond, a symbol of military triumph.³⁶ These attributes are associated with the Palm tree to the right, decorated with

³⁴ Patrick D. Miller, *Deuteronomy* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1990), 10; J. Gordon McConville, “Deuteronomy,” in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: The Pentateuch*, Vol. 2, eds. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 182.

³⁵ Note 33 above.

³⁶ Clifton and Melion, 29.

trophies of war—cuirass, helmet and weapons, and the olive tree to the right, covered with attributes of the arts—musical instruments, tools, a painting of the Virgin and books. The inscription from 4 Kings 22 on the cartouche at the base of war trophy is a Josian reference to purifying religion by destroying heresy (the cult of Baal): OB DELETOS ARUSPICES BAAL. The cartouche at the base of the arts trophy, also from 4 Kings 22, is a Josian reference to rebuilding the Temple: OB TEMPLI SARTATECTA CURATA. The two goals that dominated Philip’s foreign and domestic policies are celebrated here—unifying his empire by combating heresy, and building the Escorial. The close connection between the Escorial and the Temple of Solomon is well known by scholars and will be discussed in detail later in this catalogue. Philip’s agenda is elaborated further in the trophy to the center left, a hand and sword, labeled AUT GLADIO, “Either by the sword,” and to the center right, the hand with scepter and eyes inscribed with the words AUT VERBO, “or by the word.”

In his “Brief Explanation,” Plantin describes the trophies as Philip’s two gifts: the strict administration of justice, “by the sword,” and the king’s vigilance and constancy of law, “by the word.”³⁷ Writing to Pope Gregory XIII in 1585, Philip describes the “the sword” and “the word” as interchangeable in the service of God: “I hope that Our Lord, in whose service this war (the Protestant Dutch revolt) has been waged and sustained at the cost of so much blood . . . will arrange things with His divine providence, either through *war* or *negotiation*, so that the world

³⁷ “Ex altera parte, qua bellorum trophaea sunt, manus est in lapide titulari constituta, gladium tenens, quae alterum Regis munus significat, hoc est, Iustitiae plenam & severam administrationem in eos qui publicam honestatem & pacem vel vi, vel iniuria inferenda, vel fraude facienda violant. Ex altero vero caduceus sive Regium sceptrum est, oculis adhibitis vigilantibus: hoc altera manu tenetur, quae in lapide etiam titulari constituta est. Haec vero imago Regiam sedulitatem, vigilantiam, diligentiam & constantiam significat in emendanda legibus, ac moribus adoranda republica. Illius partis inscriptio est, AUT GLADIO: huius vero, AUT VERBO. Nam vel hoc, vel illo modo (ut magis expedite pro rerum, personarum ac temporum ratione videatur) perpetuo Regem in gubernanda repub. attentum esse oportet,” Plantin, “Tabularum” in Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. I, folio 45r.

will know, by the happy outcome, the fruit of trusting in Him.”³⁸ Josiah’s primary achievements are the restoration of the Word, rebuilding the Temple and battling heresy, which are the primary attributes of Philip promoted by the frontispiece imagery.

The illustration facing the *Pietas Regia* is *The Pentateuchal Covenants* (3-2b), a detailed engraving with multiple narratives that present an exposition of the covenantal promises God made to the patriarchs or “Forefathers.” The continuous narrative is structured in the form of individual vignettes set in a landscape. In the upper right is God’s covenant with Noah after the flood, and Noah’s holocaust offering to the Lord in thanksgiving. God blessed Noah and his sons and told them to be “fruitful and multiply,” and fill the earth.³⁹ The upper left is God’s promise to Abram that his seed will be greater than the stars and possess the land; as Abram slept, God sent a “smoking furnace” through the sacrificial animals as a sign (Genesis 15:12-18).⁴⁰ Below this is Jacob’s dream (Genesis 28:11-15) in which the Lord tells him: “The land wherein thou sleepest I will give to thee and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth: thou shalt opening abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south.”

The story in the center of the frontispiece is Jacob wrestling with the angel (Genesis 32:24-30). In the Vulgate, Jacob wrestles with a “man,” and the Christian interpretation is that Jacob wrestled a personification of Christ. When the wrestling is concluded the “man” changes Jacob’s name to Israel, and Jacob observes, “I have seen God face to face.”⁴¹ In the lower left,

³⁸ Parker, 93.

³⁹ Rosier incorrectly describes this upper-right vignette as Jacob’s offering at Beersheba (Genesis 46:1-3), rather than God’s promise to Noah (Genesis 9:1-17) which is expressly mentioned by Plantin in his “Brief Explanation;” Jacob at Beersheba also comes after, not before he wrestles with the angel at Jabbok (Genesis 32:22-30) which is the central vignette; Rosier, *Netherlandish Bible*, Vol. 1, 82.

⁴⁰ Melion argues that this scene could be Jacob at Beersheba (Genesis 46:1-4); the difficulty with this interpretation is that the illustration would then include three references to Jacob and exclude Abram entirely.

⁴¹ Genesis 32:30.

God speaks to Moses in the burning bush and promises to deliver his people from bondage (Exodus 3:4-9): “He called to him out of the midst of the bush, and said: I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob . . . I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have heard their cry . . . and knowing their sorrow, I am come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians, and to bring them out of that land into a good and spacious land. . . .”

To the lower right, Moses receives the tablets of the Law, and at the foot of the mountain in an expression of obedience “All the people answered with one voice: We will do all the words of the Lord, which he hath spoken. . . .”⁴² There is a key theme, never mentioned, that unites all these narratives: the relationship between nation building (multitude of offspring) and national land (the promised land). These notions of nation building are set within a physical structure, an architectural surround—a kind of *Domus Israel*. The vignettes are organized within a pedimented architectural framework supported by Corinthian columns. The columns are engaged at the top, but freestanding at the bottom.⁴³ Rosier sees this as a reference to the columns of Solomon’s courtyard, and the inscriptions below each column support this interpretation. When these separate inscriptions are put together, they read: VERE DOMUS DEI ISTA ET HAC PORTA CAELI—“This is the house of God and the gate of heaven.” Below the framework in a cartouche is: “Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat. Psal. 118,” which means, “The declaration of thy words giveth light.”⁴⁴ Written on the architectural base are the words: ARCANI CONSILII APPARATIO I Corinth 10, or “Framework of the hidden plan.” The inscription does not reference Corinthians specifically, but Plantin tells us that this image

⁴² Exodus 24:3.

⁴³ Rosier, Vol. 1, 82.

⁴⁴ Psalms 118:130.

demonstrates the authority of the Pentateuch as it contains the promises of human salvation.⁴⁵

Montano believed that divine wisdom, as revealed by Christ, was hidden in the arcane Hebrew of the Pentateuch. In this way, the books of Moses provided the “framework” in which the covenantal plan of salvation was hidden. It is visually significant therefore that the Hebrew narratives are conspicuously enclosed within an architectural frame.

For Philip, Solomon’s Temple as a framework for divine revelation would have had special meaning. The Escorial, a monastery, church, palace, library, art museum and royal mausoleum, was intended to house the largest sacred library in Europe, together with “the knowledge of the realm.” The olive tree adorned with attributes of the arts in *Pietas Regia* includes not only books and a sacred painting, but also carpentry and masonry tools. The mysteries of the old Law as revealed in the new are demonstrated by the pious king upon whose Polyglot shines the “light of the world,” and from the declaration of whose words “giveth light.” The plaque hanging above the architectural opening and below the Tablets of the Law reads: MULTIFARIAM MULTISQ. MODIS OLIM DEUS AD PATRES LOCUTUS EST. Hebr.I.: “God who at sundry times and in diverse manners spoke in times past to the fathers.”⁴⁶ The passage continues in Hebrew 1:2: “In these days (he) hath spoken to us by his Son.”

In his “Brief Explanation” of this image, Plantin says that as with his promise to Noah by an angel, humankind should trust that God’s promises given under the old Law will be fulfilled.⁴⁷ Melion suggests that the angel who reclines on top of the pediment holding a chalice is a reference to the Eucharist, “the cup of blessing,” as described by Paul and cited in I

⁴⁵ Clifton and Melion, 30.

⁴⁶ Hebrews 1:1.

⁴⁷ “Nam post salutem orbi aquis restituam Deus per angelus Noe alloquutus, in fide & spe salutis expectandae confirmavit, & promissi ac propositi sui repetitione & expositione animavit, sicut scriptum est, Statuam pactum meum vobiscum;” Plantin, “Tabularum” in Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. I, folio 45v.

Corinthians 10 of the image's main inscription.⁴⁸ The cup of blessing is the third of four cups prescribed by the Passover liturgy. The third cup, as referenced by Paul, is the cup or blessing offered by Christ at the Last Supper. In this way, the animal sacrifices of the Patriarchs can be associated with the "sacramental participation in (Christ's) body and blood."⁴⁹ Melion concludes that the allegory presented in this image urges "us to read the covenants of Israel as testimonies of the coming of Christ."⁵⁰

The allegory also has an important connection with Philip, the Law and the Temple. The Tablets of the Law physically adorn the architectural surround of *The Pentateuchal Covenants*, top and center in the pediment. Recall that this is the location of the Holy Ghost in the pediment of the titlepage. The Tablets are also the subject of the last vignette, Moses on Sinai, in the lower right. These "Words" are the moral laws that Jews and Christians, in varying interpretations, shared in common. In Hebrew they were called the *aseret hadevarim* or the "ten words" (Exodus 34:28) and in Greek, the Decalogue. They did not appear in Hebrew scripture as one clear set of prohibitions, but were variously given, both verbally and in written form, throughout the Mount Sinai narrative. They were only ten of six hundred thirteen laws, given to Israel in the *Torah*.⁵¹ The Ten Words were presented to Moses as the terms of the covenant that God made with his people (Exodus 34:28). The first five commandments were admonitions concerning the relationship between the people and God, and the second five were commands that directed the people's relationship with one another. The Second Commandment, "You shall not have strange

⁴⁸Clifton and Melion, 31.

⁴⁹ Clifton and Melion, 30.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 31.

⁵¹ Torah, "the Law" or Pentateuch, is the first five books of the Hebrew Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

gods before me,” is the first line of a protracted warning against idolatry found in Exodus 20:3-6. Having been exposed to the pagan cults of Egypt for four hundred years, God was concerned that his people would reject him and revert to idolatry. The First Commandment reads: “I the Lord am your god who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.”⁵² The context of the Second Commandment is this Egyptian point of reference that directly precedes it. Moses repeated God’s Words, and the people responded: “We will do all the words of the Lord, which he hath spoken.”⁵³ This is the narrative presented in the lower right-hand corner of the second frontispiece. After God established this covenant with Israel he promised to dwell among the people and gave Moses instructions for the construction of the Ark of the Covenant and its furnishings. God then gave Moses cultic and ritual laws concerning appropriate sacrifice and gifts to offer him, and also the nature of the priesthood. God then gave Moses the tablets of the “pact,” which he has inscribed with his finger (Exodus 31:18). When Moses returned up the mountain, the people (in their anxiety by his long absence) created a golden calf, fashioned by their gold earrings, and worshipped it.⁵⁴ They exclaimed (Exodus 32:4): “This is thy god, O Israel, that has brought thee out of the land of Egypt!” On witnessing these events Moses became enraged and hurled the tablets and shattered them (Exodus 32:19). He burned the golden calf to powder, mixed it with water and made the people drink it; the sons of Levi then killed three thousand for their idolatry (Exodus 32:20-28). Moses interceded for the people and God made a second covenant with them, written down by Moses on new tablets (Exodus 34:28). The

⁵² Exodus 20:2.

⁵³ Exodus 24:3; the Commandments or “Words” are the moral law; the additional rules given in the *Mishpatim* (Exod. 21-24:7) concern civil law and instructions governing sacrifice. During the Patriarchal period, which preceded the period of Mosaic Law, rules regarding sacrifice to God were discretionary (within reason).

⁵⁴ The wearing of earrings in the West was a custom that originated in ancient Egypt; see Daniela Mascetti and Amanda Triossi, *Earrings: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Rizzoli International, 1999).

“renewed” covenant with God was sealed with the “tabernacle of the pact” (Exodus 38:21). That is, the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle, its furnishings, the altars, rich textiles and dozens of “utensils”—all comprising a portable desert sanctuary—a house for God. Thus the Hebrew covenant *par excellence* was consummated by an elaborate architectural project. Uri Rubin suggests that the Ark of the Covenant project was “God Himself (recognizing) the need for a visible ritual focus that (would) accompany the Israelites in their journey.”⁵⁵

When viewed together, the meaning of the *Pietas Regia* and *The Pentateuchal Covenants* is clear. Josiah’s mission to abolish heresy, rebuild the temple and make restitution for the Law mimics the activities of Moses during the period in Israelite history in which the nation is crafted. Philip, as King of Jerusalem modeled after Josiah, constructs a similar agenda for himself as visualized in the frontispiece imagery. Philip offers the nations a Deuteronomy of the Law, which “gives light” to the hidden truth in the arcane Hebrew. The flaming altar of the Trinity supersedes the holocaust fires of the patriarchs. Philip redefines the Holy Land and builds the Temple, the house of God. The prototype for these activities—the patriarchal journey to Canaan, its settlement and habitation are conceptualized in detail by Montano in the Apparatus maps, diagrams and architectural drawings (as will be discussed in the pages below). Angels are a recurring motif in the frontispiece opening, as they speak to the Patriarchs and crown Philip. The “covenantal substructure” of Deuteronomy, referenced by the open folio of the Polyglot in the hand of *Pietas Regia*, is vividly illuminated in the *Covenants* narrative. The old Law is subsumed and honored in the new as Philip presents the Polyglot across both time and space. The “framework of the hidden plan,” both Tabernacle and Temple, the changing “house of God”

⁵⁵ See Uri Rubin, “Traditions in Transformation: The Ark of the Covenant and the Golden Calf in Biblical and Islamic Historiography,” *Oriens*, Vol. 36 (2001) p. 198.

(presented over the course of many generations) is a symbol of peace and hegemony for Moses, Josiah and Philip. Philip, who sponsors the Word, vanquishes the “soothsayers,” and builds the “house of God,” believed his *pietas regia* could promote unity among his own nations—and like the obedient children at the foot of Sinai, by sword or by word, lead to *pietatis concordiae* in his empire.

Fig. 3-3 (vol. I, folio 5 recto). BENEDICTI ARIÆ MONTANI HISPALENSIS IN SACRORUM BIBLIORUM QUADRILINGUIUM REGIAM EDITIONEM, De divinæ scripturæ dignitate, linguarum usu & Catholici Regis consilio, PRÆFATIO, type with stamped historiated initial I, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The text of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible begins with this commentary by Montano, one of his two lengthy prefaces in volume one. It immediately follows the three opening illustrations, and presents an explanatory essay on the dignity of scripture, the use of languages, and the authority of the Catholic King. The contents of this preface are best described as a summary of the contemporary political context of the Polyglot—from Philip’s point of view—and intended to shed light on the illustrations that precede it. It is important to note the voluminous nature of this preface by Montano (discussed in the entries above), which is twenty-eight pages long and unprecedented in any bible edition. Of additional interest here is the large, highly decorative historiated initial, which is an “I” bracketed by two classicized mermen in a vegetal surround—such initials together with the large folio size are appropriate for a luxury printed book edition. A different series of historiated initials is also employed for Philip’s letters and commentaries in volume one. While the designs for the initial stamps used for Montano’s two prefaces are strictly decorative, the initials associated with the passages authored by Philip include biblical narratives. The letter by Philip, for example, that follows Montano’s second preface and is

addressed to the Duke of Alba, Governor of Belgium, includes an *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in the letter “N.”⁵⁶

Fig. 3-4 (vol. I, folios 23 verso and 24 recto). PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA REX HISPANIARUM, UTRIUSQUE SICILAE, HIERUSALEM, &c. Fideli nobis dilecto Christophoro Plantino Typographo Antuerpiensi, and PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA REX HISPANIARUM, UTRIUSQUE SICILAE, HIERUSALEM, &c. Venerabilibus devotis nobis dilectis Rectori, Decanis, ac Doctoribus filiae nostrae Universitatis Louaniensis, type with stamped historiated initials F and V, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The salutations shown are two of twenty-six letters presented in the introductory material of volume one of the Polyglot. The letter to the left in the opening (folio 23 verso) is titled, “Philip, by the grace of God, King of Spain and both Sicily, Jerusalem and etc., to Our faithful beloved Christopher Plantin, Antwerp Typographer.” The letter begins by heralding Plantin’s faithfulness to the king, as Plantin’s letters to the court secretary Zayas demonstrate. It praises the five-language bible, produced in collaboration with the “Doctor of Theology” and “priest from our court,” Benito Arias Montano, made “for the benefit of the Catholic Church, the true faith, which is our place to protect. . . .” The historiated initial F chosen for this page (Fig. 3-4a) shows a Deposition with a cross and pieta grouping to the right of the initial. To the left is a monk proselytizing a Jewish figure, ethnographically identified by a beard and tall, pointy *judenhut*. Such characterizations of Jews were common in Christian art of the period. Conversion and baptism of the Jewish people was a necessary link in Philip’s cosmography of Spain and its Hebrewish heritage. Montano also emphasizes the utility of the Hebrew language in the Polyglot for conversion of the Jewish reader.

The letter on the facing page (folio 24 recto) is from Philip is addressed to “Our venerable, devoted sons” the Louvain University censors, and praises them for their “loyalty to sacred

⁵⁶ Titled PHILIPPUS II. HISPANIARUM REX, f. 22 recto.

religion . . . and singular fidelity.” The letter begins with a large historiated V that includes a narrative of the Ascension (Fig. 3-4b). The apostles are standing in the foreground to the left and right of the initial, while only the bottom of Christ’s gown and feet are shown at the top of the frame. The iconography may be significant here, but these decisions on the part of a printer, particularly in a work this size, can be random and inconsistent. It is important to note, however, that when viewed within the context of the whole work, the iconography and size of the initials in these locations appear to correspond to the letter’s agenda as well as its author. As noted earlier, the more elaborate historiated initials in the Polyglot are reserved for letters signed by Philip. In this instance, the Ascension is logically situated after and to the right of the Deposition with monk and Jew on the facing page. The Ascension is the climax of the Christian salvation narrative—the promise of resurrection and eternal life being central to the catechist’s promotion of the Christian faith to the non-baptized. Philip exhaustively promotes himself as the great champion of this cause. In this period of Tridentine censorship and strict orthodoxy as promoted by Spain, the Louvain censors took on a special role for such an important sacred work. In this letter Philip commends the censors for their “just” labors and “devotion” to the Catholic faith.

During this period there existed an anachronic tension between the authority of the ancient Hebrew text and the living Jew.⁵⁷ This tension is expressed visually throughout the Polyglot.⁵⁸ Philip attempted to establish a Hebraic patrimony for Spain, supported in part by his book collections, map collections and building projects. Hebrew texts played a special role

⁵⁷ For more on this see Steven F. Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: Conversion and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); for the “hermeneutical Jew” see Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999).

⁵⁸ For the “anachronic” Renaissance, notions of time and the role of psuedo-ancient collections in the sixteenth century, see Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

during this period, given the spiritual authority of the ancient language, as stated by St. Jerome, the *Hebraica veritas*.⁵⁹ Among Renaissance humanists, important collections included *actual* antiquities such as ancient objects, artifacts and relics, mixed together with psuedo-ancient objects such as printed maps of the Holy Land and contemporary editions of ancient Hebrew texts.⁶⁰ This interest among collectors coincided with the flowering of sixteenth-century Christian Hebraism. Abraham Melamed explains, “The scholars who participated in these movements borrowed ideas and literary forms from Biblical and post-biblical Hebrew literature; they renewed the old myth of the Jewish origins of philosophy and science, and endeavored to appropriate the treasures of Jewish culture.”⁶¹ For the Post-Tridentine Christian, the problem with Hebrew lay in its transmission to Christian audiences from living Jewish scholars. In this regard, the Polyglot sets up a distinction between the authority of ancient text and the living Jew. The Polyglot’s Hebrew text, by its own authority as the *Hebraica veritas*, takes on an ethnographic role as stand-in for the Hebrew prophets and kings, the ancestors of Christ. The contemporary Jew requiring evangelization, however, is stereotypically depicted with floppy hat and long beard as in the historiated initial F. Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), who gave a historiography of Christian Hebraism in the preface of his *Opus Grammaticum Consummatum*

⁵⁹ For more on this subject see *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

⁶⁰ For Philip’s relic collection see Guy Lazure, “Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II’s Relic Collection at the Escorial,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, (2007): no. 1, 58-93.

⁶¹ Abraham Melamed in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters*, eds. Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed, and Zur Shalev (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 3. From the sixteenth-century Jewish point of view, these activities became the focus of curiosity: In 1525, Abraham ben Eliezer Halevi wrote, “And who knows the Divine intentions which influenced the heart of many people in the lands of the gentiles to study the holy language and the books of Israel, and they turn and turn them as much as they can.” Reprinted in *Ibid.*, from Ira Robinson, “Two Letters of Abraham ben Eliezer Halevi,” in *Studies in Jewish History and Literature II*, ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 403-422.

(1542), illuminates this tension between the authority of the Hebrew text versus the living Hebrew:

Among all these (Christian Hebraists) the Lord also created a certain Jew in Italy, a man by the name of Elijah. Working against the wishes of the Jews, he compiled a book based on the best of Hebrew writers and called it *Sefer ha-Bachur*. In it he included the complete basic grammar. . . . I could not believe my eyes! It filled me with delight and I felt that I was holding a treasure in my hands. Up to then I had not realized that all the schools throughout the Christian world and every scholar would welcome this master with open arms, who even today denies our Savior!⁶²

Fig. 3-5 (vol. I, folio 26 recto). PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA REX HISPANIARUM, UTRIUSQUE SICILIAE, HIERUSALEM, &c. Fideli nobis dilecto Christophoro Plantino Typographo Antuerpiensi, type with stamped historiated initial F, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This letter is addressed to “Our faithful beloved Christopher Plantin” in which Philip praises the Polyglot’s contribution to the Catholic faith as an updated five-language bible closely associated with the archetypal and widely-praised Complutensian. Here Philip validates his “choice” for editor, Montano, and praises the “gravity” and “dignity” of Montano’s published works. The orthodoxy of Montano’s writings as well as Plantin’s faithfulness to Philip and the true faith, are accolades repeated over and over in the introductory material of the Polyglot. The king’s complete confidence in Plantin and Montano is explicitly stated in a letter to the Duke of Alba dated March 25, 1568, in which he praises their competence, good standing with the King’s Counsel and Inquisitor courts, virtue, fidelity, erudition, and their great service to Our Lord and to the Catholic Church.⁶³ Both Montano and Plantin, who were entrusted with manufacture of

⁶² See Van der Heide, excursus 3. For more on this topic see, Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999).

⁶³ Y teniendo entendido que Christóphoro Plantino . . . conoçiendo el grande serviçio que se hará a Nuestro Señor y provecho singular a la Inglesia Cathólica . . . emos tenido por bien de tomar a nuestro cargo la impresión d’esta Biblia y favoresçer y ayudar con nuestra autoridad . . . y hazer esta offrenda a Dios y a su Iglesia Cathólica, nuestra madre. Para expedición de lo qual, con acuerdo de los de nuestro Consejo, havemos hecho election de la persona del doctor Beneditto Arias Montano, nuestro criado y capellán, de cuya virtud, religión, fidelidad y erudiçión. MS. Estoc. ff. 122-123; Rosendo, 84-85.

the updated *Biblia regia*, were promoted by the Spanish crown as champions of orthodoxy, whatever their private confessional tendencies or relationship with suspicious literature.⁶⁴ The pair was given other projects of a sensitive political nature as well. In 1569 Montano collaborated on the production of a new Index of banned books, and the Duke of Alba, on Montano's recommendation, ordered Plantin as the royal typographer to oversee Flemish printers' strict avoidance of forbidden literature.⁶⁵ This large initial F (Fig. 3-5a) may reflect the nature of the text. It includes an elaborate vegetal design and two bearded, pointy-capped figures ascending on hands and knees a stylized strapwork staircase left and right. Enshrined at the top of the staircase is a covered golden vessel, the object of the figures' attention. One is tempted to suggest iconographic significance: the unenlightened simian-postured figures ascend upward in order to lay hold of the spiritual treasure. Here, the Polyglot is the treasure—uniting a scattered, unenlightened multitude.

Fig. 3-6 (vol. I, folio 28 recto). PHILIPPO II. REGI CATHOLICO, ET MONARCHAE POTENTISSIMO, SACROSANCTAEQUE & DIVINITUS ACCEPTAE RELIGIONIS PROPUGNATORI ACERRIMO, PERPETUAM FELICITATEM, type with stamped historiated initial V, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This letter is addressed to “Philip II, Catholic King and Powerful Monarch, Champion in Battle of the Most Holy and Divinely Given Religion. . . .” It is dated October 1569, and signed

⁶⁴ There was a broad range of opinions presented on this subject by Montano scholars at the conference, *Benito Aria Montano (1527-1598) Biblical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*, Princeton University, May 13-14, 2011; Guy Lazure (University of Windsor) argued that within the context of the 1570s as a “crucial period in confessional relationships,” Montano was seen as a Catholic moderate and mediator, and that the Polyglot was conceived as an ecumenical project. Lazure noted “confessional ambiguities” among the Polyglot collaborators, and argued that Montano was not interested in religious polemic. Antonio Dávila Pérez (University of Cádiz) argued conversely that Montano was a “secret agent” for Philip during his tenure in Antwerp and sent political reports to the King. Pérez denied Montano's membership in the Family of Love and proposed that Montano maintained a close relationship, as evidenced by his correspondence, with the Duke of Alba. Stephania Pastore (Scuola Normale Superiore) pointed out that while Montano asked Plantin (c.1580) to send him a Family of Love document “hidden within another document,” Montano was never a member of the heterodox Familist cult. Fernando Checa Cremades (Universidad Complutense) argued that Montano designed the program of six sculpted kings installed in the Escorial plaza, which can be associated with Montano's published survey of great kings (1575, dedicated to Philip).

⁶⁵ Rekers, 16; Rekers argues that Alba and Montano must have been unaware of Plantin's dealings with forbidden books.

by the Louvain censor Auginus Hunnaeus Machlinianus. The multiple letters in the Polyglot, prominently situated at the beginning of volume one, are examined here as a significant component of the bible's visual material, as they are central to the Polyglot's rhetoric. The large-print salutations promote (prodigiously): "Philip the Catholic," "Philip Defender of the Faith," and "Philip King of Spain and Jerusalem, etc." It is important to note that Philip's titular title "King of Jerusalem" is featured repeatedly. This letter signed by Hunnaeus also praises in the first few lines the "venerable priest" Benito Arias Montano. In this Tridentine period of censorship, it was particularly expedient to include letters of approbation from the work's censors. Any new translation of scripture was suspect, particularly a polyglot that included Hebrew and Chaldaic text.⁶⁶

Fig. 3-7 (vol. I, folio 30 verso). COPIE D'VNE LETTRE DU DUC D'ALVE A LE'VENQUE A'ANVERS. DON FERNANDO ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, DUC D' ALVE, &c. LIEUTENANT, GOVUERNEUR, & CAPITAINE GENERAL, type with stamped historiated initial T, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This "Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Alba," addressed to the "Bishop of Antwerp," is written in French. Here, Alba praises the Polyglot as a "universal bible . . . that the King has given Montano to print in this city in four languages. . . ." The letter is signed by the Duke and dated February 1570. While Latin would have been the conventional language used for all the letters in volume one, the Polyglot quite remarkably employs Spanish, French and Italian. The language used is appropriate to its recipient—for the letter addressed to the King of France French is used, and so on. The conspicuous blend of multiple early modern and ancient languages lends a universal, timeless, and imperial hermeneutic appropriate for a 'universal' cosmography. The universal nature of Philip's role is emphasized in his REGNI CASTILIAE

⁶⁶ See Rekers, 50; on this issue Montano was urged to collaborate with the Papal commission in Rome; Chaldean, associated with the Targum and wholly rabbinical, was particularly suspect.

PRIVILEGIUM (folio 37 verso). Philip opens this letter (in Spanish) with an itemized list of his many titles.⁶⁷

Fig. 3-8 (vol. I, folio 36 recto). ALIARUM LITERARUM A PONTIFICE AD REGEM CATHOL. POST DISCESSUM ARIAE MONTANI EX URBE EXEMPLUM, type with stamped initial C, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This is “Another letter from the Pontiff to the Catholic King after the departure of Arias Montano (from Rome).” This short, one-paragraph letter follows a three-page *motu proprio* written by Gregory XIII, signed and dated Rome, 1572.⁶⁸ It begins: “Our dearest son in Christ, greetings and apostolic benediction. . . .” and continues with Gregory’s commendation of the multi-language bible, published by “order of your Majesty and brought forward to us . . . by your beloved son Benito Arias Montano.” The Polyglot front matter includes not one, but two letters of papal approval. This second one is antidotal in its narrative form, confirming that the pope saw the Polyglot with his own eyes, hand-delivered by Montano on its completion in 1572. While a bishop’s imprimatur was necessary for any sacred work, the pope’s validation here was crucial for the “Catholic King” intent on modeling his empire after the universal Church.

Fig. 3-9 (vol. I, folio 36 verso and 37 recto). CAESAREUM PRIVILEGIUM, type with stamped historiated initial M, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This two-page letter comprises the imprimatur of Emperor Maximilian II. The words “Caesareum Privilegium” are the largest type used in the Polyglot, befitting the authority of the

⁶⁷ DON PHILIPPE SEGUNDO, POR LAS GRACIA DE DIO REY DE CASTILLA, DE LEON, DE ARAGON, DE LAS DOS SICILIAS, DE HIERUSALEM, DE NAVARRA, DE GRANADA, DE TOLEDO, DE VALENCIA, DE GALIZIA, DE MALLORCA, DE SEVILLA, DE CERDENIA, DE CORDOVA, DE CORCEGA, DE MURCIA, DE JAEN, DE LOS ALGARUES, DE ALGEZIRA, DE GIBALTAR, DE LAS YSLAS DE CANARIA, DE LAS INDIAS, YSLAS Y TIERRA FIRME DEL MAR OCEANO: CONDE DE BARCELONA: SENOR DE VIZCAYA, Y DE MOLINA: DUQUE DE ATHENAS, Y NEOPATRIA: CONDE DE FOSSELLON, Y DE CERDANIA: MARQUES DE ORISTAN, Y DE GOCIANO: ARCHIDUQUE DE AUSTRIA: DUQUE DE BORGONA, Y DE BRABANTE, Y MILAN: CONDE DE FLANDES, Y DE TRYOL, &c.

⁶⁸ Folio 34 verso, “MOTUS PROPRIUS. GREGORIUS PP. XIII.” *Motu proprio* or “by his own impulse” is canonically defined as a particular type of papal letter that carries authority but is not conceived *ex cathedra*.

author. The initial M is the largest too, at 5 cm square. The multiple approvals and approbations in volume one of the Polyglot, by the highest authorities in Christian Europe, present a seemingly unnecessarily gratuitous validation of the bible project, its sponsor, editor and publisher. The very large historiated M incorporates an angel blowing two horns.

Fig. 3-10 (folio 42 recto). CAROLI IX. GALLIAE REGIS PRIVILEGII EXEMPLUM, type with stamped caligraphic initial C, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This letter from the King of France is written in French and signed *Par le Roy* (“I, the King”). The font style is highly distinctive and mimics Gothic tracery and/or exotic Ottoman calligraphy. This font is only used in this section of the Polyglot for the French-language, as seen in folio 40 recto. Note that the titles are Latin but the text is French. The font style appears to be associated visually with this particular geographic region and culture, in what I propose is an ethnography of font. This is not a strict interpretation, but is loosely given and broadly applied throughout the Polyglot. The 6 cm square initial C is distinctive too—it is a woodblock stamp that mimics a freehand calligraphic design. At the bottom of this opening left is the Polyglot’s official approval by the Parisian Theological board: *Censura, et approbation, Theologorum Parisiensium*. The facing page right (Fig. 3-10a) is the Venetian privilege, authored by Aloysius Mocenigo, the Duke of Venice. The salutation is given in Latin, set off by an italicized font, but the text of the privilege is written in Italian. The Duke’s distinctive monogram is given in a stamp.

Fig. 3-11 (vol. I, folio 43 verso and 44 recto). PHILIPPI II. HISPAN. REGIS EX CONSILIO BRABANTIAE PRIVILEGII EXEMPLUM (left) and DOCTORUM VIRORUM CARMINA ENCOMIASTICA (right), type with stamped initial P, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Here Philip addresses the French-speaking audience of Brabant, so the text of the document is French, and the distinctive Gothic-style font is used. The king’s proficiency in a range of contemporary languages is promoted here as elsewhere in the Polyglot. To the right of

this page signed “Par le Roy,” is a single-page Hebrew text titled “Song of Praise to Learned Men,” conspicuously juxtaposed with the king’s letter. This is the reader’s first encounter in the Polyglot with the Hebrew language, printed by Plantin using the famous type he acquired from Daniel Bomberg. The Hebrew text is highlighted by a distinctive double-columniation, commonly used in poetic verse, which presents a strong visual contrast with Philip’s letter on the facing page. The first Hebrew word at the beginning of the text on the upper right of the page is presented in bold in order to orient the reader’s gaze from right to left. While most readers of the Polyglot would have understood the Latin title, “Song of Praise to Learned Men,” few would have been fluent in Hebrew. The title would have evoked, however, well-known songs of praise associated with ancient Hebrew victories, such as Judith’s (16:1-21) and David’s (2 Kings 22-51). In a publication of 1567, *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini*, Plantin had praised Philip with a poem in Hebrew type taken from Hebrew scripture:

Long live our lord the King.

Peace be upon his offspring, his house and his throne for ever from the Lord. Let the Lord fulfill all his wishes and give him peace on every side and let his offspring inherit the gate of his enemies.

Thou art the Lord, the realms of the earth are in Thy hand. Look down from heaven upon Thy people and deliver it from Satan and evil in the days of our King, Thy servant.

O ye kings, now be wise, be instructed judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling.⁶⁹

The *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini*, a catalogue of Plantin’s Hebrew printed letters, was published for the sole purpose of impressing Philip with his excellent Hebrew type. Plantin caught Philip’s attention, secured his sponsorship of the Polyglot, and eventually became his royal typographer, all in large part as a result of his acquisition of (and proficiency with) Hebrew type, punches and matrices.

⁶⁹ Translated in Van der Heide, 155.

Fig. 3-12 (vol. I, folio 49 verso and 50 recto). ORDO LIBRORUM VETERIS TESTAMENTI (left) and SACRI APPARATUS PARTIUM SERIES COMPACTORIBUS OBSERVANDA (right), type, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Folios 44 verso to 47 verso includes a discourse by Montano on the significance of the Syriac New Testament translation to the Syrian Christian reader, and praises the Eastern Church for providing the exemplar. While scholars such as Maria Portuondo and Theodor Dunkelgrün have focused on Montano's interest in oriental languages within the rubric of hermeneutics and philology, it is important to repeat that Montano also saw these ancient languages as a way of proselytizing living audiences. This discourse is followed by the provenance of Montano's Syriac New Testament, which he acquired from the late Venetian printer Daniel Bomberg via Charles (Karel) Bomberg.⁷⁰ The University of Cologne authorities approve this Syriac exemplum and praise Daniel Bomberg "of happy memory," in a letter on the next page. Folios 48 recto to 49 recto comprise Plantin's *brevis explicatio* of the Polyglot's illustrations, as discussed earlier. Plate 13 (folio 49 verso and 50 recto) indexes the Polyglot's order of books. It was understood that the Antwerp Polyglot was intended to replace and supersede the Complutensian, and the Antwerp Polyglot incorporates the Complutensian's basic format and particulars, including a prologue and dictionaries. Folios 49 verso and 50 recto, which present a paired opening, are organized as a table of the Polyglot's contents:⁷¹

- ORDO LIBRORUM VETERIS TESTAMENTI
- **IN PRIMO TOMO EST:**
- GENESIS.
- EXODUS.
- LEVITICUS.
- NUMERI.

⁷⁰ The exemplar passed from the Syrian Church to the Bombergs to Montano.

⁷¹ The Antwerp Polyglot does not exist in facsimile, and original editions are hard to come by. As so many editions of Polyglot are disordered or incomplete, I have included this list as I know it will be much appreciated by students of the Antwerp Polyglot.

- DEUTERONOMIUM.
- **IN SECUNDO TOMO EST:**
- JOSUE.
- LIBER JUDICUM.
- RUTH.
- REGUM I. II. III. IIII.
- PARALIPOMENON I. II.
- **IN TERTIO TOMO EST:**
- ESDRAE I. II. III. IIII.
- TOBIAS.
- JUDITH.
- ESTHER.
- JOB.
- LIBER PSALMORUM.
- PROVERBIA SALOMONIS.
- ECCLESIASTES.
- CANTICUM CANTICORUM.
- LIBER SAPIENTIAE.
- ECCLESIASTICUS.
- **IN QUARTO TOMO EST:**
- ISAIAE PROPHETIA.
- JEREMIAE.
- BARUCH.
- EXECHIELIS.
- DANIELIS.
- OSEE.
- JOELIS.
- AMOS.
- ABDIAE
- JONAE.
- MICHEAE.
- NAHUM.
- HABACUE.
- SOPHONIAE.
- AGGEI.
- ZACHARIAE.
- MALACHIAE.
- MACHABEORUM I. II.
- **ORDO LIBRORUM NOVI TESTAMENTI.**
- QUINTUSTOMUS COTINET LIBROS NOVI TESTAMENTI, QUI SUNT:
- EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM MATTHEUM.
- EVANGELIUM MARCUM.
- EVANGELIUM LUCAM.
- EVANGELIUM JOHANNEM.

- ACTA APOSTOLORUM.
- PAULI EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS.
- AD CORINTHIOS I. II.
- AD GALATAS.
- AD EPHESIOS.
- AD PHILIPPENSES.
- AD COLOSSENSES.
- AD THESSALONICENSES I. II.
- AD TIMONTHEUM I. II.
- AD TIMUM.
- AD PHILEMONEM.
- AD HEBRAEOS.
- JACOBI EPISTOLA.
- PETRI EPISTOLAE I. II.
- JOANNIS EPISTOLAE I. II. III.
- JUDAE EPISTOLA.
- APOCLYPHIS.
- SACRI APPARATUS PARTIUM SERIES COMPACTORIBUS OBSERVANDA.
- **PRIMUS TOMUS DE VERORUCO PIA COTINET:**
- GRAMMATICAM HEBRAICAM CUM HEBRAICO DICTIONARIO.
- GRAMMATICA CHALDAICAM CUM SYROCHALDAICO DICTIONARIO.
- GRAMMATICA SYRICAM, CUM SYRO DICTIONARIO, SIVE SYRORUM PECULIO.
- GRAMMATICA GRECAM CUM DICTIONARIO GRAECO.
- **SECUNDUS TOMUS DE LINGUARUM EXERCITATIONE CONTINET:**
- BIBLIA HEBRAICA VETERIS TESTAMENTI, CUM INTERPRETATIONE LATINA AD VERBUM INTERLINEALI, & VERBORUM RADICIBUS IN MARGINE.
- NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRAECUM, CUM INTERPRETATIONE LATINA INTERLINEALI.
- HEBRAICORUM IDIOTISMORUM LIBRUM.
- **TERTIUS TOMUS DE COPIA RERUM CONTINET LIBROS:**
- JOSEPH, SIVE DE ARCANI SERMONIS INTERPRETATIONE.
- JEREMIAS, SIVE DE ACTIONE.
- TUBAL CAIN, SIVE DE MENSURIS SACRIS, CUM TABULA AENEA SICLI IN SINE.
- PHALEGH, SIVE DE GENTIUM SEDIBUS PRIMIS, CUM TABULA ORBIS IN FINE.
- CALEB, SIVE DE TERRE PROMISSE PARTITIONE, CUM TABULA TERRE ISRAEL IN FINE.
- NOAH, SIVE DE SACRIS FABRICIS, CUM TABULIS DECEM, HOC ORDINE:
- I ARCA NOE.
- II SACRI TABERNACULI ICHNOGRAPHIA.
- III SACRI TABERNACULI ORTHOGRAPHIA EX INTERIORI PROSPECTU.
- IIII SACRI TABERNACULI ORTHOGRAPHIA EX PROSPECTU EXTERIORI.
- V TABERNACULI ABSOLUTI &c. EXEMPLUM.

- VI CANDELABRI, ALTARIUM, & ARCE SOEDERIS EXEMPLUM.
- VII CASTRAMETATIONIS ORDO.
- VIII TEMPLI JEROSOLYMITANI ANTIQVI, CU ATRIIS &c. ICHNOGRAPHIA.
- IX SACRE AEDIS ICHNOGRAPHIA, & SCIOGRAPHIE PARS.
- X TEMPLI CUM PORTICU, CELLIS &c. ORTHOGRAPHIA
- AARON, SIVE DE SANCTORU VESTIMENTORUM &c. CUM TABULA SACERDOTIS DEPICTI IN SINE.
- NEEMIAS, SIVE DE ANTIQUE JERUSALEM SITU, CUM TABULA IN SINE.
- DANIEL, SIVE DE SECULIS CODES INTEGER.
- INDEX BIBLICUS.
- HEBREORUM, CHALDEORUM, GRECORUM & LATINORU NOMINU PROPRIORUM.
- VARIARUM LECTIONUM CHALDAICARUM.
- VARIARUM LECTIONUM HEBRAICARUM, SIVE
- VARIARUM LECTIONUM GRECARUM.
- VARIARUM LECTIONUM LATINARUM.
- TABULA TITULORUM TOTIUS NOVI TESTAMENTI.

The Old and New Testaments are contained in volumes one to five, and the three-volume Apparatus, labeled book one, book two and book three, are contained in volumes six to eight.

The Apparatus was philosophically set apart from the sacred books as copia, but the entire Polyglot edition: the prologues, letters, Testaments and Apparatus, were conceived and printed as a single work, as seen in the Scheide Library (Princeton) copy, which retains early bindings.

The Old and New Testament books are organized according to the Catholic canon, but note that the Pentateuch is conspicuously set apart from the other Old Testament books, and bound together in the *Primo Tomo*, or volume one. This mimics the arrangement of the six-volume Complutensian in which volume one terminates with the end of the Book of Deuteronomy.

Volumes two, three and four of the Polyglot comprise the balance of the Old Testament, and the New Testament is contained in volume five. There is a conspicuous contradiction between the actual arrangement of the material in volume seven, and the order of books in volume seven as listed here in the *Ordo*. The contents of volume seven are listed as:

- BIBLIA HEBRAICA VETERIS TESTAMENTI, CUM INTERPRETATIONE LATINA AD VERBUM INTERLINEALI, & VERBORUM RADICIBUS IN MARGINE
- NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRAECUM, CUM INTERPRETATIONE LATINA INTERLINEALI.
- HEBRAICORUM IDIOTISMORUM LIBRUM

The actual arrangement of volume seven is different from the *Ordo*: The Book of Hebrew Idioms is first, followed by the Greek New Testament, and last, the Hebrew Bible Old Testament, published from back to front like an orthodox Hebrew work designed for a Jewish reader.⁷² In other words, the Hebrew Bible in volume seven of the Polyglot is bound like an authentic Hebrew Bible, and not an “Old Testament Hebrew Bible” intended for a Christian audience. This inconsistency with the *Ordo* is not the result of a latent binding decision, as the pages are printed from back to front, including Montano’s preface in Latin. It is clear that the books in volume seven were intended to be bound in this way. As we shall see later in this catalogue (plate 49) the title page of the *Biblia Hebraica* (last page of volume seven) highlights the title: BIBLIA HEBRAICA in a freestanding large font at the top of the page. The words “Veteris Testamenti” are part of the description below the title, and the first two words of a long, descriptive introduction.⁷³ Plantin was a respected publisher of Hebrew language books and bibles, and as Van der Heide points out, he served both a Christian Hebraist *and* Jewish market.⁷⁴ The most successful of these editions was his four-volume *Hebrew Bible* of 1566 (Royal Library of Brussels) that included an elaborately detailed architectural frontispiece and text entirely in

⁷² Such is the arrangement in both the Scheide Library and Newberry Library copies—both editions are in excellent condition and retain early bindings.

⁷³ For more on the historical relationship between the Hebrew Bible and the Old Testament, see Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, 2008).

⁷⁴ Van der Heide, 87.

Hebrew.⁷⁵

Fig. 3-13 (vol. I, p. 1). QUINQUE LIBRI MOYSE, Hebrew, Greek and Latin type within woodcut frame, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This plate is the titlepage to the Polyglot's first five books of the Old Testament, titled "The Five Books of Moses." This comprises the Jewish *Pentateuch* or *Torah*. The title is given in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but Hebrew dominates the page—it is located at the top and in the largest type. The text is situated in an elaborate architectural surround, similar to the frontispiece Plantin used for his Hebrew Bible of 1566. The frame incorporates corinthian columns covered in spiraling vines which evoke Solomon's Temple. The architectural frame is highly detailed with strapwork, vegetal designs and Hebrew script, but no figures are used, in keeping with aniconic Jewish artistic tradition.⁷⁶ The Old Testament titlepages are in fact quite different stylistically from the other titlepages and frontispieces in the Polyglot in their lack of figural imagery. The Old Testament sections of the Polyglot in volumes one through four include a total of four frontispieces, which divide the Old Testament books into four sections. The order of books in the Polyglot is organized according to Catholic canon, but the frontispieces mimic the divisions of a Hebrew bible: *Torah*, the Five Books of Moses; *Nevi'im*, the Prophets, and *Kethuvim*, the Writings. In order to accommodate the Catholic number and order of books, a fourth section is added—a second *Nevi'im*—*Prophetiae Posteriores* or Later Prophets. The architectural frame for this titlepage was cut from one woodblock (Plantin-Moretus Museum/Print Room, Antwerp) and was used for all four titlepages of the Old Testament.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Van der Heide., 122, fig. 5a.

⁷⁶ Much has been written on Jewish aniconia; see for example, Margaret Olin, *The Nation Without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

⁷⁷ MPM HB 8235, for photo see Van der Heide, 158. The format of the Targum at the bottom of the page was employed by the Complutensian.

Fig. 3-14 (vol. I, pp. 2-3). GENESIS, 1:1-20, Hebrew, Latin, italicized Latin, and Greek type with four large stamp initials, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This two-page opening shows the beginning of Genesis, “In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth. . . .” (Genesis 1:1). Regular pagination in the Polyglot begins here in the scriptural sections, and these pages are numbered 2 and 3. The polyglottal languages are organized into four columns. The text of Genesis 1:1-20 is given in three languages, Hebrew, Latin and Greek, with the Targum presented in a band at the bottom of the page. The column to the far left is the vocalized Hebrew with Masoretic accents.⁷⁸ To the right of the Hebrew on the fold of the left page is Jerome’s Vulgate, labeled at the top, “Translat. B. Hierony,” that is, *Translatio Benedicto Hieronymus* (Translated by St. Jerome).⁷⁹ To right of the Vulgate on the right page at the fold in italicized font is the Latin translation of the Septuagint. The column to the far right on the opening is the Greek Septuagint. In a band at the bottom of the left page is the vocalized Aramaic (Chaldean) text of the Targum. In a band at the bottom of the right page is the Latin translation of the Targum.

The Complutensian incorporates a tripartite division of the text in which the distinctive Vulgate “spine” creates a symbolic visual center on the page, as seen in Genesis 1:1 (Fig. 3-14a). The Latin translation of the Greek is provided interlinearly in a smaller font, and the vocalized Hebrew of the Complutensian text does not include the Masoretic accents (Fig. 3-14b). The visual effect, as described in the Complutensian’s prologue, is Christ “hanging” between “those two thieves:” Greek on the right (the side of righteousness—the redeemed good thief) and Hebrew on the left (the perfidic bad thief) as seen in Job 27:1 and 28:1 (Fig. 3-14c).⁸⁰ These

⁷⁸ Van der Heide, 161.

⁷⁹ The Complutensian includes the same inscription, “Transla. B. Hiero.”

⁸⁰ Quote taken from prologue by Cardinal Ximenes, Complutensian Polyglot.

distinctions in the Complutensian prologue are made with the anthropomorphic understanding that the text itself is a stand-in for persons.⁸¹ The scriptural text of the Antwerp Polyglot, however, employs four columns roughly equal in width, each with a large, stylistically distinctive initial at the beginning of each sacred book. Unlike the arrangement of text in the Complutensian, the Hebrew is always situated to the right of the Vulgate on the page opening, and the Greek to the left. A different font style or alphabet is recognizable in each of the four columns in the Polyglot—the Latin translation of the Greek, for example, is italicized and therefore stylistically different from the Latin Vulgate. The result is that each of the four columns of text is visually distinctive. If one were *looking at* rather than reading these pages, the differentiated font style and alphabets would be associated with different languages and therefore different cultural or ethnic groups—that is, an ethnography of text would be understood. This concept can be associated with the anthropomorphosis of text as employed by the Complutensian.

Montano was interested in proselytizing the four corners of the earth, and Philip, using the universal Church as his paradigm and *modus operandi*, was interested in effectively administrating them. This four-part scheme is highlighted in the Polyglot's frontispiece in which each animal (as described by Plantin) personifies different languages/cultural groups. This geographic/ethnic theme, organized globally, can be associated with Montano's promotion of the Polyglot as a service to all people, east and west, and to "all Jews."⁸² With these socio-religious and political concerns in mind, the Polyglot's deviation from the Christological symbolism employed in the Complutensian text seems logical.

⁸¹ According to early modern visual practice, in a two-dimensional picture that employs figures, left and right are differentiated from the point of view of the figure on the page facing outward toward the viewer.

⁸² See Montano's letter to Philip of 1567.

Fig. 3-15 (vol. I, pp. 182 and 183). GENESIS, 50:23-26, Hebrew, Latin, italicized Latin, and Greek type with stamp monograms and signature, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This two-page opening presents the end of the book of Genesis: “And being embalmed he (Jacob) was laid in a coffin in Egypt.” (Genesis 50:26) Unlike the Complutensian, in which Genesis ends with a simple printed inscription, “Explicit liber Genesis,” the end of Genesis here includes, in a legalistic way, the king’s mandate and the editor’s approval, signature, monogram and stamp. Here, below the Latin translation of the Chaldean paraphrase on page 183 is, “Finis libri Geneseos,” followed by, EX REGIS CATHOLICI MANDATO. Below this is written, “Reviewed and approved by Benito Arias Montano, Th.D.” This is followed by Montano’s signature stamp, “B. Arias Montanus,” and his stamped seal, the Arabic word *al-tilmid* which means “the pupil” or “pupil.”⁸³ This text in Latin and Arabic is repeated in Hebrew and Arabic on the facing page to the left, below the Hebrew text of Genesis 50:26. Here, quite extraordinarily, *Finis libro Genesis; Ex Regis Catholici*, etc. is written in Hebrew. Below this is Montano’s review and approval in Hebrew. Instead of Montano’s signature stamp, as used on the facing page, his initials are given in Hebrew from right to left: mem, alep, bet. To the left of this is Montano’s seal, the *al-tilmid*. The mandates and approvals are given at the end of every scriptural book in the Polyglot, a reflection of the heightened orthodoxy and skepticism of this Tridentine period (there is no equivalent in the pre-Tridentine Complutensian). Montano’s signature and seal assures the reader (as well as the Inquisitorial censors) that the translations are orthodox. Montano’s Hebrew and Arabic name and seal promote the editor’s expertise in oriental languages. These constructed, self-imposed ethnic identifiers would have also helped to create an ecumenical connection with the Semitic audiences Montano hoped to evangelize.

⁸³ Van der Heide, 161.

Pages 184 to 743 constitute the balance of volume one, and include the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Volume II: SANCTORUM BIBLIORUM TOMUS SECUNDUS

Fig. 3-16 (vol. II, folio 3 recto). Jan Wierix after Crijspijn van den Broeck (?), *The Israelites Crossing the River Jordan with the Ark of the Covenant*, frontispiece, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Israelites Crossing the River is the engraved frontispiece for all of volume two of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, which includes the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings and Paralipomenon. It shows the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant across the Jordan river as described in Joshua 3:13-17: “And when the priests that carry the ark of the Lord the God of the whole earth shall set the soles of their feet in the waters of the Jordan, the waters that are beneath shall run down and go off: and those that come from above shall stand together upon a heap . . . (and) the waters that came down from above stood in one place, and swelling up like a mountain, were seen afar off . . . (and the priests) stood girded upon the dry ground in the midst of the Jordan. . . .” As Walter Melion has pointed out, Joshua is presented in the front middleground with “baton raised to indicate he initiated the crossing.”⁸⁴ God then instructed the tribes to gather twelve large stones from the riverbed to be placed in the camp as a sign. Joshua also placed twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan’s dry bed as a monument to the miracle.⁸⁵ The image here depicts a conflated version of these events. The figures in the foreground gather and carry large stones, and a monument of stones is situated in the riverbed behind the ark. The tents of the Israelite camp can be seen left and right on the banks. A mountain of water rises in the distance while more water is seen to “run down and go off.” The engraving is signed by the

⁸⁴ See Clifton and Melion, 113; see also Hänsel, 33-34.

⁸⁵ Joshua 4:1-9.

artist Jan Wierix (1549-1618?) with his monogram IHW (JHW) to the lower left. The work is inscribed with a quote from Hebrews 2:2: QUI PER ANGELOS DICTUS EST SERMO FACTUS EST FIRMUS, that is, “The word, spoken through angels, proved steadfast.” The subject of the work, *Crossing the River Jordan*, is appropriate as the illustration directly precedes the book of Joshua. The New Testament inscription from Hebrews, however, can be related to Philip’s imperial imperative and its associated call to baptism—a theme highlighted throughout the visual material of the Polyglot.⁸⁶ According to Christian tradition, St. Paul’s letter to the Hebrews was written to the Christian community of Palestine, that is, a community of baptized Hebrews. The Douay Rheims prologue to this epistle summarizes Paul’s letter this way:

St. Paul wrote this Epistle to the Christians in Palestine, the most part of whom being Jews before their conversion, they were called Hebrews. He exhorts them to be thoroughly converted and confirmed in the faith of Christ, clearly shewing them the pre-eminence of Christ’s priesthood above the Levitical, and also the excellence of the new law over the old. He commends faith by the example of the ancient fathers. . . .⁸⁷

Plantin explains the significance of this image in his “Brief Explanation” in volume one: The Old Testament memorializes the *promissa terrena* (terrestrial promises) which foreshadow the heavenly kingdom; the early covenants, fulfilled by the promised land, confirm hope for salvation so long as the Hebrews persist in belief and obedience.⁸⁸

This frontispiece illustration is followed by a three-page prologue by Montano on the use of the Targum in the Polyglot. He explains that there were three extant versions of the Targum—the Babylonian, Jerusalem and Onkelos—and of the three, the Jerusalem Targum is

⁸⁶ Melion associates this passage with the exegetical tradition in which Joshua prefigures Christ; see Clifton and Melion, 87-88, note 51.

⁸⁷ First published by the English College at Douay (1609) and the English College at Rheims (1582): *The Holy Bible, Douay Rheims Version, Translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1899).

⁸⁸ Clifton and Melion, 31.

the most celebrated authority. Montano validates the inclusion of the Targum in the Polyglot, as it helps to clarify the sacred mysteries, and also because the eminent Cardinal Ximenes incorporated it into the Complutensian. It is important to note here that the University of Alcalá de Henares during the period in which Ximenes was compiling the Complutensian Polyglot had a more liberal approach to Hebrew studies than the hyper-orthodox environment of the Tridentine 1570s.⁸⁹ The Targumim were Aramaic (Chaldean) translations or paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible composed around the first century CE. Aramaic was a commonly used language, and such translations of Jewish scripture were needed as Hebrew was no longer widely understood among Palestinian Jews during that diasporic period.

Fig. 3-17 (vol. II, p. 1). *PROPHETAE PRIORES*, Hebrew, Greek and Latin type within woodcut frame, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This image is the titlepage for the books that constitute the major prophets in the Catholic canon: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings 1, 2, 3, and 4, and Paralipomenon 1 and 2. This titlepage is almost identical to the titlepage for *QUINQUE LIBRI MOYSE* and the same woodcut surround was used for all four titlepages in the Polyglot's Old Testament books. As previously noted, these titlepages appear "authentically" Jewish (in their aniconic lack of figural ornament and large Hebrew text) in relation to the other full-page images in the Polyglot. It is important to note that the word *PRIORES* or "major" is a subtext of *PROPHETAE*. In other words, "Prophets" stands out on this page. Hebrew bibles incorporated similar divisions in three parts: Torah (the Five Books of Moses), Prophets and Writings. The Prophets in the Polyglot are separated into "major" and "minor" in order to accommodate the Catholic Old Testament order of books. In a Hebrew bible, all of the prophet books, major and minor, are combined under the

⁸⁹ For more on the reception of Ximenes and the Council of Trent, see Wilkinson, 12-13.

heading “Prophets.” The full-page “Jewish-looking” titlepages in the Polyglot emphasize the Torah/Prophets/Writings division of books. This organizational methodology, enhanced by these visually striking titlepages, mimics an authentic Hebrew bible.

Volume III: SANCTORUM BIBLIORUM TOMUS TERTIUS

Fig. 3-18 (vol. III, p. 1). SANCTI LIBRI, Hebrew, Greek and Latin type within woodcut frame, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Shown here is the frontispiece of the Antwerp Polyglot’s third volume. As noted earlier, it is almost identical to the other Old Testament frontispieces and employed the same woodblock used for the frame surrounding the text. The title is given in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but the Hebrew text dominates the page. The “Holy Books” are equivalent to the “Writings” division of books in a Hebrew bible. The Holy Books include Esdras, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

Fig. 3-19 (vol. III, pp. 108 and 109). JUDITH, 1:1-11, Italicized Latin, Greek and Latin type with stamped initials A and E and wrapped text, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This is the opening to the book of Judith, which presents a remarkable shift in the arrangement of the Polyglot text. Judith is among the canonical books in a Catholic bible, but is excluded from Jewish and Protestant editions. It is among the Old Testament books for which the Hebrew is not presented. As Ximenes explains in the Complutensian’s prologue to Judith (Fig. 3-19a), there was no authoritative version of this work available in Hebrew among the extant manuscripts, so the Hebrew translation is not used. Even so, Ximenes concludes, it is among the holy books approved at the Council of Nicaea, and both women *and* men are to follow Judith’s chaste and heroic example. Given these vagrancies of language, Ximenes was required to structure the Judith text differently—the Vulgate remains in the center of the page opening, with Greek and an interlinear Latin (transliteration of the Greek) to the left and right. Like the Complutensian, the Antwerp Polyglot includes only Latin and Greek in the book of

Judith as well. In the Antwerp Polyglot, however, the Septuagint dominates the center of each page. It is known that the Complutensian favors the Vulgate, as we have seen. Montano and Plantin, however, defer to the oldest available source for Judith—the Greek Septuagint. Because the Greek with interlinear Latin transliteration requires more page space than the Vulgate, Ximenes included a repeating filler of upper-case “O”s at the bottom of the Vulgate text, as seen in Judith 1:1-7 and 2:1, 3:1 (Fig. 3-19b). The Polyglot employs a much more complicated printing arrangement than the practical solution employed in the Complutensian. In the Antwerp Polyglot, the Vulgate is printed in a column along the centerfold of the page opening, left and right. The Septuagint is featured in the center of each page, with the italicized Latin translation of the Greek (rather than interlinear placement) toward the outside of the page, left and right. Like the Complutensian, the Vulgate column is shorter in some sections of Judith than the Greek and italicized Latin. Rather than use filler Os, as seen in the Complutensian, the Polyglot text is wrapped around the Vulgate toward the centerfold of the page.

This wrapped arrangement of text, seen also in Judith 7:9-12 (Fig. 3-19c) and 11:1-13 (Fig. 3-19d) is remarkably similar to the unique wrapped text commonly used in contemporary printed editions of the Jewish Talmud.⁹⁰ This type of wrapped text is associated with Daniel Bomberg, as seen in his printed edition of the *Babylonian Talmud* (Venice, 1528).⁹¹ It is interesting that Plantin did not solve the spacing issue in Judith using the same type of filler employed by Ximenes. One could argue that the Hebrew origin of the book of Judith, which lacked a Hebrew language exemplar, is being visually promoted here by the use of Talmudic wrapped text. The

⁹⁰ For an example see Van der Heide, 22, ill. 2.

⁹¹ See M. J. Heller, “Designing the Talmud: The Origin of the Printed Talmudic Page,” in *Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008) 92-105. Van der Heide argues that Bomberg did not devise this layout, and it was commonly used Latin manuscripts and Iberian Hebrew incunabula, see *Ibid.*, 85, note 157.

absence of Hebrew type in Judith (as an Old Testament book) would have stood out. That Judith was eliminated from the Protestant canon, and was not included in the Jewish order of prophetic books, supports the use of wrapped text here as an ideological choice, and not merely a practical printing decision.

Volume III: SANCTORUM BIBLIORUM TOMUS QUARTUS

Fig. 3-20 (vol. III, folio 3 recto). Jan Wierix after Pieter van der Borch (?), *Domus Israel*, frontispiece, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The *Domus Israel* is the frontispiece for volume four of the Polyglot which contains the “minor” Prophet books starting with Isaiah, and including Baruch (Fig. 3-20a), Daniel, and Machabees (Fig. 3-20b). This engraved image is a representation of the “Vineyard of the Lord.”⁹² It is a birds-eye view of a walled, well-ordered and manicured vineyard set within a wild, unmediated landscape (the biblical wilderness described in Genesis) that extends far into the distance. Figures labor productively within the vineyard, and there is a watchtower and winepress in the center between organized, leafy rows of vines. This is not harvest time, and there are no grapes present in the image. The figures tend to the foliage, some with long stakes used to support and cultivate the hedges. As Walter Melion points out, the figures are shown in both ancient and contemporary dress.⁹³ More than this, the various figures are presented as ethnographic and religious stereotypes: there are figures with long beards and *judenhuts*; monks with tonsures, and figures wearing turbans and exotic dress. These cultural groups, together with the bare-legged, hatless figures in short tunics, cut across both geographic and temporal boundaries—they present not only a microcosm of Philip’s empire, but also his idealistic goals

⁹² As it is described by Plantin, “Tabularum in Regiis Bibliis” in Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. I, folio 46r. See Clifton and Melion, 31-32 and cat. 4, 114; while I agree with Melion that the vineyard imagery represents a “hinge” between Isaiah’s prophecy and Matthew’s gospel, Melion does not interpret the work in light of Isaiah 5, from which it is clearly taken.

⁹³ Clifton and Melion, 114.

for administrating it. The image promotes the ideal conflation of Gentile, Greek, Jew and Muslim—that is, the sum of the earth’s ethnic and religious populations (from Philip’s point of view)—all peacefully laboring in God’s (that is, Philip’s) house.⁹⁴

The vertically oriented chorographic view is compositionally similar to the cityscapes in Hogenberg’s *Civitates* of 1572. Like the regional views in *Civitates*, this image includes topographical details in mixed perspectives. This principality, the House of Israel which is the Vineyard of the Lord, is wholly shown, its boundaries delimited by a wall. The inscriptions left and right of the portal are taken from the prophet Isaiah: DELECTATIO PLANTATIONU DOMINI, and QUID ENIM DEBUI FACERE VINEAE MAEA QUOD NO FECI? The image and inscription is a literal translation of Isaiah 5:1-4, 7:

I will sing to my beloved the canticle of my cousin concerning his vineyard. My beloved had a vineyard on a hill in a fruitful place. And he fenced it in and picked the stones out of it and planted it with the choicest vines, and built a tower in the midst thereof, and set up a winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes and it brought forth wild grapes. And now, O ye inhabitants of Jerusalem and ye men of Juda, judge between me and my vineyard. What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard that I have not done to it? For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel: and the man of Juda his pleasant plant: and I looked that he should do judgment, and behold iniquity: and do justice, and behold a cry.

This passage is reminiscent of Philip’s letter to Pope Pius V, “(do not forget) the great and numerous obligations and burdens that I bear in the maintenance and protection of my kingdoms, in the continuous war that I wage against the infidel, and in the defense of Christendom and the public cause of the Catholic religion.”⁹⁵ In volume one of the Polyglot, the Louvain censor Auginus Hunnaeus Machlinianus reminds the reader of Philip’s role in his capacity as “Catholic King and Powerful Monarch, Champion in Battle of the Most Holy and Divinely Given

⁹⁴ “Sum of the earth’s . . . populations,” that is, “relevant” populations from Philip’s point of view.

⁹⁵ Written in 1566, see Parker, 92.

Religion.” Philip complained that he felt alone in this cause, and it was by “true religion” that he hoped to cultivate order in his vast realm. Montano argued that the divisions “tearing the Christian world apart” could be attributed to “evil” interpretations of scripture disseminated by “agents of the devil”; these actions have “destroyed innumerable souls, and miserably disordered the Christian republic.”⁹⁶ Montano suggested that King Philip, inspired by God, offered the remedy to this international crisis in the form of his Polyglot: “(that the) study of piety and of pure religion is acknowledged to be the principal, noblest, and firmest foundation for the establishment of the state.”⁹⁷ The *promissa terrena*, that is, the terrestrial (geographic) promise highlighted in *The Israelites Crossing the River Jordan* is fulfilled in the *Domus Israel*. It appears the related frontispiece illustrations in the Polyglot present a broad view of Philip’s political aspirations. Just as the ancient Hebrews settled ancient Spain (so Philip argued) the terrestrial promise God made to them is fulfilled in Philip’s multi-national contemporary empire. Plantin demonstrates how this image links time and space, as Isaiah’s Old Testament prophecy is fulfilled and perfected in the New Covenant. He explains that Isaiah’s prophecy is realized and God’s church is expanded and adorned when the chosen people follow God’s divine will with attention, care and diligence. The image is not about outcome, but effective administration—diligent care in preparation for the harvest.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ See Clifton and Melion, 34-35.

⁹⁷ Clifton and Melion, 35.

⁹⁸ Plantin, *Tabularum*, 2: Quartus tomus Prophetarum scripta continet, qui variis legationum, vaticiniorum et actionum generibus Israelitarum populum divinae voluntatis cognoscendae, ac purae religionis colendae rationes docuerunt, atque in huiusmodi administrando munere multa eademque gravissima multi ex illis pertulerunt. Quamobrem vineae Domini exercituum imagine hic tomus ornatur, cuius descriptionem ex Isaiae vaticinio, atque ex Evangelica lectione petere licebit. Est autem haec tabula argumento maximae sollicitudinis, curae, ac diligentiae, quam Deus is Ecclesia sua excolenda, ornanda, amplificandaque ponit.

Volume V: SANCTORUM BIBLIORUM TOMUS QUINTUS

Fig. 3-21 (vol. V, folio 3 recto). Jan Wierix after Crispijn van den Broeck (?), *Tomus Quintus* frontispiece, *The Baptism of Christ*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The Baptism of Christ is the frontispiece for volume five, the New Testament volume of the Antwerp Polyglot.⁹⁹ It is tied to the Polyglot's frontispiece opening of the *Pietas Regias* and *The Pentateuchal Covenants* in volume one by its inscription: NOVISSIME DIEBUS HIS LOCUTUS EST NOBIS DEUS IN FILIO, QUEM CONSTITUIT HAEREDEM UNIVERSORUM. Heb. i. (Hebrews 1:2) This is a continuation of the inscription in *The Pentateuchal Covenants*: MULTIFARIAM MULTISQ. MODIS OLIM DEUS AD PATRES LOCUTUS EST. Hebr. I. (Hebrews 1:1) Together the passages read: "God who at sundry times and in divers manners, spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, last of all, in these days has spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things. . . ." The passages are taken from Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, a letter frequently referenced throughout the imagery of the Polyglot. It is important to keep in mind that the Pauline corpus comprises not only this letter to the Hebrew community in Palestine, but also letters to a range of Gentile communities as well. It is interesting that the Polyglot favors Paul's letter to the Hebrew community in this way. Compositionally, *The Baptism of Christ* is iconographically and compositionally tied to other images in the Polyglot. It is organized like *Crossing the River Jordan* both thematically and spatially. A river runs through the center of the composition, and figures are situated on the left and right banks. Just as the tribes gather large stones in the foreground of *Crossing*, Christ demonstrates his supremacy over the old Law by stepping onto a large stone in the same location in the foreground of *Baptism*. The *Baptism* print is also associated with *The Pentateuchal*

⁹⁹ For Melion's interpretation of this work see Clifton and Melion, 115, cat. 5.

Covenants volume one frontispiece opening by the location of the Holy Ghost seen in effigy in the *Pietas Regias*.

The subject of Christ's baptism was an extremely unusual choice for a New Testament volume, since the crucifixion was more commonly used as a visual summary of the Christian salvation narrative. Notions of baptism are alluded to elsewhere in the Polyglot, and the subject would have had special significance to Philip. In the face of the Protestant heresy, the image of Christ's baptism supported the Roman church's great antiquity by its close association with first century Judaism. Philip's empire, moreover, comprised a range of religious and ethnic groups: Christian, Jew, Muslim and New World Indian. Baptism was required for the enculturation and homogenization of all these groups. And in constructing a Hebrewish pedigree for Spain, baptism was a required, transformative bridge. As archetype of the perfect Jew, Christ offered himself for baptism according the will of the Father. Symbolically and geographically the *Baptism of Christ* binds the Polyglot (and Philip's political agenda) together. The image is literally situated, like a bridge, at the geographic center of the Polyglot—between the Old and New Testaments, and between the first four and last four volumes. For Philip, defender of the faith and King of Jerusalem, baptism presented the link between Jew and Christian, the Old Testament and the New.

Fig. 3-22 (vol. V, pp. 2 and 3). MATTHAEUM, 1:1-11, Syriac, italicized Latin, Latin and Greek type with stamped initials L and B, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This two-page opening is the beginning of Matthew's gospel. The text is organized in a way similar to the Old Testament pages, with four columns presenting the same passages in different languages side-by-side. Here in the opening of Matthew, Syriac is seen in the Polyglot for the first time. It will be used throughout the New Testament gospels and epistles (Figs. 3-22a-b). The Syriac translation is situated on the far left of the two-page opening with its Latin

transliteration next to it. On the facing page, the Vulgate is placed to the left next to fold with the Greek Septuagint to the right. There is no Syriac script or translation in 2 Peter (Fig. 3-22c), because no exemplum was available, so the four columns in the two-page opening comprise just the Septuagint and Vulgate in two columns, with a continuation of the letter from one page to the next. Here, there was an attempt to mimic the four-column/four-language style used elsewhere in the Polyglot. To maintain visual continuity, the Greek is switched from left to right on the facing page, even though (as a continuation of the letter on the facing page) the text is different. Another interesting addition in the epistles is an Arabesque decorative banding not found elsewhere in Polyglot. When thumbing through all eight volumes of the Polyglot, the viewer may have felt as though he had encountered a multi-language, multi-ethnic cosmography—a history of the world and all its peoples in eight volumes.

Indeed, there is some confusion in the period literature and correspondence over the actual number of languages employed in the Antwerp Polyglot. The titlepage to the entire edition states that four languages are employed: Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Chaldean. The Antwerp Polyglot is described elsewhere in the literature, even in the prologue material in volume one, as incorporating five languages. In reality, the Antwerp Polyglot incorporates not only the ancient languages Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Chaldean and Syriac, but also Spanish, French and Italian. The use of languages in the Polyglot, like the iconography in the Polyglot's engraved images, cuts across both geographic boundaries and also time. They conflate old and new, east and west, as a reflection of Philip's geo-political aspirations and concerns. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie (Guidoni Fabricio Boderiano) who was among the Christian kabbalists working for Plantin, is responsible for the Syriac translation in the New Testament volume, and Philip validates Boderiano's contribution in an introductory letter. The Christian kabbalists believed that Syriac, like Hebrew,

contained arcane spiritual truths (that is, Christian orthodoxies) in the script and etymologies.¹⁰⁰

Syriac is among the ancient Semitic languages and is a western dialect of Aramaic, believed to be the spoken language of Christ. Important early Christian texts were written in Syriac, and it is one of the languages associated with the development of medieval Arabic. Visually, it incorporates a distinctive calligraphic flourish that early modern European viewers would have associated with contemporary Arabic.

With Hebrew, Greek and Syriac in the Polyglot, all of the Abrahamic religions were represented: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim. In the *Praefatio* of the Polyglot's New Testament volume Guy Lefèvre points out that the range of tongues after Babel alienated men from one another, and the Polyglot would be useful in assisting all men to become "fellow-citizens" of the world—that all should worship God "in one manner, with one rite, and in one language."¹⁰¹ For Philip and Montano, like Lefèvre, the primary ideological objective (as reflected in the Polyglot) was to bring all men under one orthodox Catholic-Christian umbrella. The Christian kabbalists associated with Plantin lamented the non-existence of a printed New Testament in Arabic, but were nonetheless committed to proselytizing Arabic-speaking audiences.¹⁰² And for non-Arabic speaking viewers, the Polyglot's Syriac would have been ethnographically associated with Arabic-speaking peoples. There were no Ottoman groups under Philip's direct control, but as titular King of Jerusalem he prayed for their conversion. Arabic had a related, but even more profound significance for the Christian kabbalists associated with the Antwerp Polyglot. They believed the discovery of both the New World and new cultures in the east were eschatological signs. Before the end, the Gospel had to be preached to all men, and they believed Arabic was

¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson, x-xi.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 87; it is not clear which one language would be used.

¹⁰² Wilkinson, 78, and 76-92 *passim*.

the ideal language for the “final evangelization.” Because Arabic was difficult to print, Aramaic (the language of Christ) was chosen instead.¹⁰³ Lefèvre’s Syriac translation of the Polyglot’s New Testament was taken from a “very old” manuscript he had received from Postel, courtesy of Bomberg’s heirs.¹⁰⁴ For printing in Syriac, Plantin had special type cut at Postel’s direction.¹⁰⁵ The last image in volume five, which comprises the end of the New Testament and Bible proper, is Plantin’s title and printer’s mark (Fig. 3-22d): “Executed in Antwerp by the Royal Typographer Christopher Plantin.”¹⁰⁶

Volume VI: SACRI APPARATUS PARTIUM, Primus tomus De verboru copia cotinet

Fig. 3-23 (vol. VI, folio 2 recto). LEXICON GRÆCUM, Latin and Greek type with woodcut emblem, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This is the first page of volume six and serves as a frontispiece to the Greek dictionary. It reads: “Greek Dictionary and Principles of the Greek Language, Instructions for the Sacred Apparatus. Executed in Antwerp by the Royal Typographer Christopher Plantin, 1572.” This is one of four grammar-dictionaries that comprise volume six of the Polyglot, and they are listed in the table of contents in volume one in the following way:

- Grammaticam Hebraicam cum Hebraico Dictionario.
- Grammaticam Chaldaicam cum Syrochaldaico Dictionario.
- Grammaticam Syricam, cum Syro Dictionario, sive Syrorum peculio.
- Grammaticam Grecam cum Dictionario Græco.

Recall that Montano hoped that readers would avail themselves of the dictionaries in order to become familiar with the oriental languages. Montano and the Christian kabbalists believed sacred truths were hidden in the arcane text—truths that could only be appreciated if read in the

¹⁰³ Wilkinson, 78.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 91.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ For more on Plantin’s printer’s mark see Clair, 33.

original language. For the Antwerp Polyglot linguists, if Christ as *logos* is truth, the ancient text itself, the actual words in the oriental tongue, held authority—like icons in the Eastern Church—akin to relics. Philip, in his largess, not only shares this sacred collection with the world, but he is also the divinely appointed arbiter of it.

For Montano and the kabbalists, the dictionaries were philosophically tied (out of linguistic necessity) to the sacred text as few in Europe could read Hebrew, Chaldean or Syriac. It follows that the visual information, illustrations and maps presented in all eight volumes were intended by the editor and publisher to be viewed together, as a program. In other words, volumes six, seven and eight do not present a mere appendix or *copia schola*, but are integral to this eight-volume work. Note that as with the Hebrew Bible in volume seven (mentioned earlier and to be discussed below), the Hebrew dictionary in volume six is listed first in the table of contents, but is situated last in the actual volume. The Greek grammar and dictionary, listed last, is bound first—from the left side of the book. This was an “authentic” printing of the Hebrew grammar, from right to left, beginning at the back of this volume like a “real” Jewish book. The Syriac and Chaldean, also Semitic languages, are printed and bound in the same way. In a volume comprised of Greek (read from left to right) and Syriac, Chaldean and Hebrew (read from right to left) the pagination in volume six is incongruous and awkward. Starting from the beginning of the volume to the left, the Greek dictionary and grammar is numbered pages 1 to 382. Page 382 is followed by a blank page that serves as a transition between the shift in pagination presented in this volume. The Greek dictionary is followed by a Syriac vocabulary numbered 55 to 1. This is followed by a Syriac grammar, numbered pages 60 to 1, and so on. The Syriac is organized in two columns to be read from right to left. This style of pagination and orientation from right to left is continued throughout volume six. An example of this can be seen

in a two-page opening (Fig. 3-23a) that shows page 1 of the GRAMMATICA CHALDÆA to the left (folio verso) and the last page of a three-page preface by Montano in Latin to the right (folio recto). This preface by Montano is presented in italicized Latin printed and bound on pages organized from right to left. Following this section to the right in the volume is a Syro-Chaldean dictionary with definitions given in Latin. The entries are organized into three columns per page from right to left. The complex pagination, columniation, and organization of cross-referenced material and mix of languages present in volume six, is exemplified on a two-page opening toward the back of the volume (Fig. 3-23b).

Fig. 3-24 (vol. VI, folio ultima verso). THESAURI HEBRAICÆ LINGUÆ, Latin type with woodcut emblem, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Shown here is the first page of the Polyglot's Hebrew thesaurus, which is the section that comprises the Hebrew dictionary and grammar. It is the 'last' page of volume six, that is, the printed page furthest to the right in the volume. This titlepage mirrors the printed layout of the titlepage at the front of volume six, the Greek lexicon, and includes Plantin's printer's mark, title and motto, LABORE ET CONSTANTIA, "by labor and constancy." The Plantin's mark incorporates a disembodied hand with a compass drawing a circle; the compass device was adopted in association with the name of his Antwerp print shop, the Golden Compasses. An elaborately detailed animal and vegetal strapwork surround frames the image. This type of surround is found elsewhere in the Antwerp Polyglot and was commonly used in luxury printed material of period, including Ortelius' *Theatrum*.¹⁰⁷ The Complutensian included an appendix with dictionaries and grammars, so the Antwerp Polyglot essentially followed that model. Montano the theologian-orientalist believed that scripture (in the original languages) served "as a

¹⁰⁷ See James A. Welu, "The Sources and Development of Cartographic Ornamentation in the Netherlands," in Woodward, *Art and Cartography*, 147-173.

complete encyclopedia of human knowledge.”¹⁰⁸ The images and *copia scholia* were necessary to illuminate the arcane text, and the Latin prefaces printed from right to left (Fig. 3-24a) served to validate the authority of the oriental languages. With the sheer volume of complexly organized reference material and *scholia* included in the Antwerp Polyglot, one is reminded of the type of encyclopedic books and collections sixteenth-century literati craved.

Volume VII: SACRI APPARATUS PARTIUM, Secundus tomus De verboru copia cotinet

Fig. 3-25 (vol. VII, folio 2 recto). COMMUNES ET FAMILIARES HEBRAICAE LINGUAE IDIOTISMI, Latin type with woodcut emblem, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Volume seven contains three sections. They are itemized in the table of contents in volume one of the Polyglot in the following way:

- Biblia Hebraica Veteris Testamenti cum interpretatione Latina ad verbum interlineali, & verborum radicibus in margine.
- Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum interpretatione Latina interlineali.
- Hebraicorum idiotismorum librum.

This is the titlepage for the “Hebraicorum idiotismorum librum,” titled COMMUNES ET FAMILIARES HEBRAICAE LINGUAE IDIOTISMI, that is, “Common and Familiar Hebrew Idioms.” It is the first printed page at the “beginning” of volume seven—the first page to the left of the volume. Montano is credited with the authorship of this section, which comprises Hebrew expressions redacted from Pagnini’s Latin translation of scripture. Recall that Montano and Plantin had wanted to replace the Vulgate in the Polyglot with Pagnini’s updated translation, but Philip refused:

In the sample that Plantin sent us, the edition of Xantos Pagnino has replaced the Vulgate, which in the Complutensian Bible was next to the Hebrew text. Since it was decided that nothing should be altered nor deleted, you must inform Plantin of this, and you must see to it that the said Vulgate is put back and kept in the same place as in the Complutensian Bible, because of the authority it enjoys throughout the world of the Universal Church. Since it is the most important of all the versions,

¹⁰⁸ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 58.

it would not be right to omit it from such an illustrious work, and it must be given prime importance.¹⁰⁹

Rekers points out: “In his heart of hearts Montano regarded the Vulgate as a philological absurdity. He compromised and had the Vulgate as well as the Pagnino translation included in the Polyglot.”¹¹⁰ For Philip, the universal appeal of the Polyglot superseded humanist erudition. In an arrangement also used in volume six of the Polyglot, the Hebrew idioms are bound at the “front” (left) of the volume, but are listed last in the volume one contents table. The Hebrew Bible, listed first, is bound starting from the back (right). Montano’s Greek New Testament with interlinear Latin is situated in the center of this volume.

Fig. 3-26 (vol. VII, folio ultima verso). HEBRAICORUM BIBLIORUM, Latin type with emblem stamp, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The titlepage for the Polyglot’s Hebrew Bible is printed from right to left beginning at the “back” of volume seven. It includes Pagnini’s interlinear translation. Montano, Raphelengius, and Guy Lefèvre together with his brother Nicolas, collaborated on this section. These scholars are credited as such on this titlepage, which also mentions that this work had been examined and approved by the Louvain censors. As with all of the scriptural books in volumes one to five, Montano (as well as the censors) signs the end of several books in this Hebrew translation, giving his name and Arabic monogram, as seen at the end of the Book of Malachi (Fig. 3-26a). This seal of approval is not universally required or applied, as seen at the end of the Book of Nachum (Fig. 3-26b). Note that unlike the Old Testament titlepages in volumes one to four, Hebrew type is not used on this page. Like the Apparatus dictionaries and grammars, this

¹⁰⁹ Philip II to Montano in a letter dated March 25, 1568: En la muestra que aca enuoi Plantino habia puesto la edicion de Xantes Pagnino como habeis visto en lugar de la Vulgata, que en la impresion complutense esta junto al texto hebraico. Y porque ha parecido que en esto no conviene que no haya mudanza, ni se altere ni quite lo de hasta aqui, direislo asi al Plantino y hareis que la dica edicion Vulgata se ponaga y quede en el mesmo lugar que esta en la Biblia complutense, por la automas principal de todas las versions, no fuera justo que faltara ni se dejara de poner en una ora tan insigne, y en el principal lugar de aquella; Carvajal, no. 19; Rekers, 49.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

translation was intended to engage non-Hebrew reading audiences. The interlinear Latin was intended as a guide to the Hebrew. Montano believed that the Hebrew contained arcane truths—in order for general audiences to properly understand them, a “good” Latin translation was necessary. This Hebrew Bible includes a preface by Montano, printed in Latin from right to left (Fig. 3-26c).

Volume VIII: SACRI APPARATUS PARTIUM, Tertius tomus De copia rerum continet libros

Fig. 3-27 (vol. VIII, pp. 24 and 25). PHALEG, Latin type with woodcut emblem, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Volume eight of the Polyglot includes Montano’s treatises on the origin and evolution of the world and its peoples from creation to the time of Christ, and includes “a complete ethnography of the ancient Hebrews.”¹¹¹ This is the titlepage for *Phaleg, or book of the first homes of the nations with their locations on the earth*. It is Montano’s treatise on the migration of the progeny of Noah after the flood and precedes a double-hemispheric map of the world. Like popular contemporary cosmographies, maps, diagrams and illustrations accompany Montano’s origin and migration narratives. These ethnographies are illustrated by a total of fifteen complexly detailed illustrations and cartographically accurate maps. *Joseph, sive De arcani sermonis interpretatione*, known as the *Arcano Sermone*, is the first book in volume eight, and sets the tone for the authoritarian Hebrew ethnographies elaborated therein. It is an exposition of the complexities of the Hebrew language, and reflects Montano’s belief that when literally interpreted, the arcane language revealed sacred truths. The Louvain censors encouraged Montano not to include *De Arcano Sermone*—they argued that it made the Apparatus “too bulky,” and a correct literal translation of Hebrew was at any rate problematic as

¹¹¹ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 31.

the language contained no vowels.¹¹² As indicated in the table of contents in volume one of the Polyglot, the books and images in volume eight are organized in the following way, beginning with the *Sermone*:

- Joseph, sive De arcani sermonis interpretatione.
- Jeremias, sive de actione.
- Tubal Cain, sive de mensuris, cum tabula aenea fieli in fine.
- Phalegh, sive de gentium sedibus primis, cum tabula orbis in fine.
- Canaan, sive de duodecim gentibus, cum tabula terre Canaan in sive.
- Noah, sive de sacris fabricis, cum tabulis decem, hoc ordine:
- I Arca Noe.
- II Sacri tabernaculi ichnographia.
- III Sacri tabernaculi orthographia ex interiori prospectu.
- IIII Sacri tabernaculi orthographia ex prospectu exteriori.
- V Tabernaculi absoluti &c. exemplum.
- VI Candelabri, altarium, & arce fœderis exemplum.
- VII Castrametationis ordo.
- VIII Templi Jerosolymitani antiqui, cu atriis &c. ichnographia.
- IX Sacre ædis ichnographia, & sciographie pars.
- X Templi cum porticu, cellis &c. orthographia.
- Aaron, sive de sactoru vestimentorum &c. cum tabula sacerdotis depitcti in fine.
- Neemias, sive de antique Jerusalem situ, cum tabula in fine.
- Daniel, sive defeculis codex integer.
- Index Biblicus.
- Hebreorum, Chaldeorum, Grecorum & Latinoru nominu propriorum.
- Variarum lectionum Chaldaicarum.
- Variarum lectionum Hebraicarum, sive “masoret.”¹¹³
- Variarum lectionum Grecarum.
- Variarum lectionum Latinarum.
- Tabula titulorum totius Novi Testamenti.

¹¹² The Louvain censors to Montano in a letter dated July 22, 1570: Recipimus priorem partem Apparatus cui titulus De Arcani Sermonis Interpretatione, quae nobis utilis quaedam isagoge seu introduction esse videtur ad sacrarum litterarum intelligentiam . . . Videtur nobis magis in rem et utilitatem christianae reipublicae futurum si seorsim extra opus illud regium excudatur, in exiguo aliquot volumine quod omnibus esse usui possit. Existimamus enim opus illud regium quod in maximam molem excrescent libris non prorsus necessariis non esse augmentandum et gravandum; Royal Library of Stockholm, Sparwenfeldt Collection; hereafter: MS Stokh.; a second letter from the Louvain censors to Montano, dated August 20, 1570, addresses the same concerns regarding the Arcani Sermonis: Quod ad Arcani Sermonis librum attinet, eum post ultimas nostras ad te litteras accuratius multo quam antea examinavimus, variisque et docti cum tanta interpretum copia et textu varietate si baneant Patrum commentaries facile eo libro carebunt. Indocti vero parum illius lectione ad intelligendum sacras litteras viderentur; MS. Stockh.; Rekers, 52.

¹¹³ The Polyglot entry for “masoret” (tradition) is given in Hebrew type.

The image facing the Phaleg titlepage shows a detailed representation of a shekel, the silver coin and unit of weight used in ancient Israel. The image is signed by engraver Philips Galle, and is after a design by an anonymous artist. Shalev sees the shekel as a reflection of Montano's antiquarian interests, and Bowen and Imhof observe that it is an entirely new subject in biblical illustration.¹¹⁴ In order to construct a Hebrew patrimony for Spain, Philip had to prove that *ancient* Hebrews settled Iberia. Spain's association with early modern or living Jews was immaterial. If the Polyglot served as a type of paper collection or cabinet, similar to those described by Thomas and Stols, then it follows that the seemingly idiosyncratic inclusion of this ancient exotic shekel—accurately rendered in detail—served as a legitimizing artifact.¹¹⁵

Fig. 3-28 (vol. VIII, pp. 2 and 3). Benito Arias Montano, *Tabula orbis*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The Polyglot's *Tabula orbis* is an up-to-date double-hemispheric world map intended to illuminate Montano's Phaleg treatise, the complex Hebrew ethnography that precedes it.¹¹⁶ It shows the New World (Fig. 3-28a) and the Old (Fig. 3-28b). It is inscribed with Montano's name, and is also introduced by a titlepage (Fig. 3-28c) printed on the back of the New World hemisphere that reads, ORBIS TABULA. BEN. ARIA MONTANO. AUCTORE. Montano's world map should be viewed in the tradition of late medieval T–O Shem/Japheth/Ham maps updated in an attempt “to reconcile contemporary knowledge of world geography to the scriptural account.”¹¹⁷ Cartographically accurate for 1570, the map was taken directly from the double-hemispheric world map in Girolamo Ruscelli's 1561 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*

¹¹⁴ The shekel can also be related to Montano's exposition on weights and measures in the Apparatus; see Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 37-39; Bowen and Imhof, 95.

¹¹⁵ Thomas and Stols, 2009.

¹¹⁶ See Delano-Smith and Ingram, 123; Shirley, no. 125, 147.

¹¹⁷ Delano-Smith and Ingram, 123.

(Fig. 3-28d), which was in turn modelled after Giacomo Gastaldi's world map of 1548.¹¹⁸ The shape of Montano's world map, the outline of the continents and the topographical details are identical to Ruscelli's. Montano's additions to the Gastaldi/Ruscelli model are the cartouches with numbered Noachic family groups situated in the Old and New Worlds. The map includes conventional windheads, their names given in Hebrew.

Around 1574, it became common on world maps to include personifications of the four continents on the map's four corners—this in keeping with the medieval tradition of associating the three-fold division of the known world with the three sons of Noah.¹¹⁹ And as J. B. Harley has explained, peripheral decoration on early modern maps “serves to symbolize the acquisition of overseas territory.”¹²⁰ Here, the continents are indicated not by personifications, but by the Hebrew clans distinguished typographically. As seen elsewhere in the Polyglot, typography serves as a stand-in for ethnic groups, and this ethnography of type is evident in the map keys. The three primary family groups, Japheth, Shem and Ham, are keyed on the map with three different numerical styles.¹²¹ Japheth's family, delineated in the cartouche in the upper-center of the map (Fig. 3-28e), are keyed using Roman numerals. The family of Shem is keyed using Arabic numbers, as seen in the cartouches to the upper-right, and bottom left and right. Ham's family, delineated in the bottom-center cartouche, are keyed with upper-case letters of the alphabet.¹²² The names are given in both Hebrew and Latin so the reader can follow the legends

¹¹⁸ Giacomo Gastaldi, *Ptolemeo la Geographia*, (Venice, 1548). The model for the Montano's world map, unaddressed by scholars, is demonstrated here for the first time.

¹¹⁹ See for example Georg Braun's world map (Cologne, 1574) in Shirley, no. 130, 155.

¹²⁰ J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 75.

¹²¹ Delano-Smith and Ingram, 123.

¹²² Ibid.

and corresponding locations on the map. The distribution of the progeny of Noah as shown on this map is a literal representation of Genesis 10:1-32: “These are the families of Noah, according to their peoples and nations. By these were the nations divided on the earth after the flood.” Montano theorized that the New World continent was settled in post-diluvial times by descendants of Shem. These groups passed from Asia to the New World via a land bridge, shown on the map. Note that Ortelius’s world map of 1570 does not feature such a land bridge.¹²³

Shalev has argued that this map should be understood in light of Montano’s antiquarian interests as well as *geographia sacra*. Montano was a serious scholar and antiquarian, to be sure, but he was also a high-ranking agent of the Spanish crown. As such, Montano’s world map can be compared to imperial world maps of the period, such as Georg Braun’s of 1574 dedicated to Maximilian II. On Braun’s map, the continents are conceived as armor on the body of the double-headed eagle, the personification of the Holy Roman Emperor. There was an important socio-political concept in early modern Europe that associated the body of the monarch with his geographic possessions. On a world map, by default, all of the king’s principalities (wherever they may be) would be shown (Fig. 3-28f). For a prince with imperial ambitions, a map of the world, unlike a regional map, would have special significance. Montano’s world map is dedicated to Philip, Catholic King, and dated 1571 (Fig. 3-28g). The map itself describes ancient geographic locations, but is tied to the present by the date as well as the ethnographic markers. While the world map presents an impressive view of Philip’s dominions, it also leads the viewer to consider the ancient Hebrew settlement of the world. Philip promoted the notion that ancient Hebrews settled Spain. Montano’s erudite treatise juxtaposed with this updated Ptolemaic world

¹²³ Shirley, no. 122, 144-145.

map would have helped to promote the Polyglot's geopolitical ideology to its learned audiences.

Montano may have self-identified as a Spanish Jew in this section of the Polyglot as a means of self-promotion, or in an attempt to identify with his Jewish audiences, whom he hoped to proselytize. The world map's title page reads Ben. Aria. Montano (Fig. 3-28c). Montano was the location in Spain of Benito's birth and served as his surname, and he associated his surname with Spain's mountainous terrain. The special significance of mountainous geography is a key topographical element of Montano's description of the Holy Land in ancient times. "Ben" was a common prefix used for Jewish male names, so in this case, Benito's name reads, Son of Aria Montano. It may also be significant that Montano is given in Spanish, not Latin. In 1586 Ortelius dedicated a map of ancient Spain to Montano, "with friendship and respect;" Montano spoke of the great pleasure the map gave him, and that he carried it with him at all times.¹²⁴ Abbreviations were common in early modern printing and Latin language manuscripts, but such truncations were typically made as a result of space limitations. Such is not the case here, and the abbreviation, not seen elsewhere in the Polyglot, may be intentional. While this interpretation is strictly speculative, Montano would have recognized the possible double-meaning of "Ben." Montano was in the habit of using ethnographic markers as a means of self-identification, as we have seen, including his Hebrew initials and Arabic monogram.

Philip used both topographical and geographical maps to define and order his dominions, and both kinds of maps were used as historical images in bibles, "that allowed the reader-viewer to chart and thereby to participate in the sacred journeys of biblical personages."¹²⁵ Such is the case in the Polyglot. Following the world map but preceeding the maps of Canaan, is a treatise

¹²⁴The map was published in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1590 (Antwerp: Plantin); the inscription reads: Summo theologo Dno D. Benecicto Ariae Montano: Viro linguarum cognition, rerum peritia, et vitae integritate mago: Abrah. Ortelius Amicitiae et observantiae ergo, DD.; for more see Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 41

¹²⁵ Clifton and Melion, 42.

by Montano titled “Book of Geography,” (Fig. 3-28h) which details the migration of the Hebrews “the sons of the east” from the period of Abraham “many years after the flood,” and ending with the twelve tribes of Israel and their arrival in Canaan.¹²⁶ If the Polyglot’s world map can be seen as an imperial map that served as a “key” map for the regional maps that follow, their relationship to *geographia sacra* as well as their biblical context enhanced Philip’s idealized scheme to model his empire after the universal Church with the new Holy Land/Jerusalem/Temple (Spain/Madrid/Escorial) as its navel. Indeed, the maps in the Polyglot follow a hierarchical scheme that becomes increasingly localized and specific: World, Holy Land, Jerusalem, Temple, Temple artifacts. The notion that Philip’s new Jerusalem perfects the old in light of Christian truth, is enhanced by the figural imagery in this section of the Polyglot. The historiated initial “E” in Montano’s “Book of Geography” includes a narrative of Christ asleep in the boat as the storm rages. From a Christian perspective, the sleeping Christ symbolizes the many travails encountered by the children of Israel before they reach the Holy Land.

Fig. 3-29 (vol. VIII, pp. 9 and 10). Pieter Huys(?) after Benito Arias Montano, *Tabula terrae Canaan*, map, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This map shows Canaan before the Hebrew conquest. It serves as an illustration of Montano’s treatise “Canaan, or the first homes of the twelve nations.” The map shows regions beyond Canaan, including Egypt “to illustrate the Patriarch’s wanderings.”¹²⁷ The map also coincides with the events detailed in Montano’s “Book of Geography,” the treatise which directly precedes it. The inscription in the map’s cartouche reads, “Canaan at the time of

¹²⁶ De filiis orientis; “post diluvium multis annis. . . .”

¹²⁷ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 52; Shalev notes, “as far as Mesopotamia;” I think more significant that it extends to Egypt. See also Eran Laor, *Maps of the Holy Land: Cartobibliography of Printed Maps, 1475-1900* (New York: Liss, 1986), no. 45, no. 46, and no. 945.

Abraham and the children of Israel before the coming of the neighboring countries.” Montano’s map of Canaan is modeled after a map he acquired in Italy during his participation at the Council of Trent. This and the other regional maps in the Polyglot are constructed much like topographical regional maps of the period with ornamentations including masted ships and flagged citadels. But as Shalev notes, Montano “annotated and augmented (his map of Canaan) with a descriptive text in order to facilitate the understanding of biblical toponymy.”¹²⁸ What Shalev is referring to are the place names in Hebrew. This map is east-oriented based on Marinus Snudo’s map of ca. 1320 which continued to be used in sixteenth-century editions of Ptolemy.¹²⁹ This easterly direction is unlike Ortelius’ map of “Palestrinae” from his 1572 *Theatrum*, which is oriented north, but is similar in orientation to Jewish Holy Land maps of the period.¹³⁰

Fig. 3-30 (vol. VIII, pp. 14 and 15). Pieter Huys(?) after Benito Arias Montano, *Terrae Israel omnis ante Canaan*, map, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The “Land of Israel” map follows and illustrates Montano’s treatise, “Caleb, or the division of the promised land.” The map shows Canaan proper, that is the land between the Nile and Sidon.¹³¹ This Holy Land map is oriented east and shows the Exodus route “marked in detail, each station represented by a single round tent.”¹³² The Red Sea crossing is marked by a double-pricked line.¹³³ Montano emphasizes the extraordinary fecundity of the land, a geographical characteristic that was facilitated by its mountainous terrain. Shalev implies that

¹²⁸Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 52

¹²⁹Delano-Smith and Ingram, 59.

¹³⁰ Many thanks to Bob Karrow for pointing this out to me

¹³¹ Delano-Smith and Ingram, 59.

¹³² Ibid., 60.

¹³³ Ibid.

Montano had a fondness for mountains as he named himself “Montano” after the mountainous Spanish region of his birth, but does not clarify the significance of this connection. Early modern Spanish chroniclers made direct parallels between Spain and the Holy Land, and Fray Juan de la Puente, biographer for Philip III, argued that the “New Jerusalem, a land of milk and honey” is “now” in Spain.¹³⁴

Fig. 3-31 (vol. VIII, p. 22). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Arca Noe*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Noah’s Ark is one of eight illustrations in volume eight of the Polyglot depicting sacred architecture. Here the body of Christ, that is the Christian Church, is associated literally with the Ark of Noah which housed the group of eight who were chosen to re-populate the post-diluvial earth. The proportions of the dead (or dormant) Christ exactly match the proportions of the Ark, the mathematical specifications of which were given in precise detail to Noah from God. This image follows Montano’s “Exemplar, or the book of sacred buildings,” in which Montano argues that Greco-Roman architectural designs were taken from the biblical sources and archetypes which historically preceded them. Montano promotes the study of biblical architecture, together with a close reading of scripture in the original languages (specifically Hebrew), and describes in great detail the three primary building projects narrated in the Old Testament: Noah’s Ark, the Tabernacle and Solomon’s Temple. There existed a long tradition in Church scholarship—dating back to St. Augustine (and earlier)—on the relationship between the Ark and Christ’s body and the Ark and the Church. Hänsel argues that Montano owned a copy of Vitruvius, and this illustration is modeled after Vitruvian theories which associate the perfect building with the proportions of a perfect man. These were widely-known views shared by Italian Renaissance

¹³⁴ Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (London and Boston: Brill, 2010), 55.

artists and architects. Shalev supports this idea.¹³⁵ It is not to be concluded, however, that owning Vitruvius meant Montano embraced Vitruvius' theories.¹³⁶ Montano had easy access to the Escorial's 14,000 volume collection (one of the largest collections in Europe) so he had access to every important book in circulation at the time. Montano was in fact criticized in contemporary sources for his aversion to Vitruvius, and current scholarship suggests that Montano was openly critical of ancient Greece and Roman philosophy.¹³⁷ Montano makes it quite clear in the "Arcano Sermone," "Exemplar," and other treatises concerning sacred architecture in volume eight, that the most enlightening descriptions of biblical edifices, geography, and cult objects is to be found, specifically, in the Masoretic Hebrew of the Pentateuch. As with his theory on the double-Peru, Montano "discovered" its twin nature in the Hebrew word "Pervuum," found in Genesis. So too did Montano apply this philological method to his illustrations of the Ark of Noah, the Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon. Montano believed that all Christian truths were hidden (or lay dormant, like the "dead" body of Christ) in the arcane Hebrew text of the first five books of scripture—they merely needed to be uncovered.

Fig. 3-32 (vol. VIII, p. 24). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculum anterius*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Four stages of the Tabernacle depicted in the Polyglot: the early stage or plan, the exterior, the second exterior, and the ultimate exterior view. The Tabernacle drawings are so detailed and technical in nature (as references for the student architect) that the images themselves appear a manifestation of Montano's words in the "Exemplar" regarding the actual building projects "fully consonant with the many and great labors that went into these edifices fabricated at God's

¹³⁵ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 66.

¹³⁶ Hänsel, 16.

¹³⁷ From a talk given by Maria Portuondo, "Benito Arias Montano's Hermeneutics of Nature," Montano conference, Princeton University, 2011.

command.”¹³⁸ The plans for the Tabernacle and all its specifications were given by God to Moses. As a practitioner of sacred archeology, Montano believed the monuments described in Genesis, including the Ark of Noah and the Tabernacle could be replicated from the plans as they are described in scripture. More than this, their significance is imbued with sacred meaning when translated from the arcane Hebrew, the language of God.

Fig. 3-33 (vol. VIII, p. 26). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculi interiori*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This engraving represents the first stage of Tabernacle construction and includes the often discussed but little understood anthropomorphized planks of wood (Fig. 3-33a). God commanded the upright frames of the tabernacle be constructed of acacia wood, with twenty frames on the south side, and twenty frames on the north. (Exodus 36:20-32) Shalev admits he “has yet to find” a Christian exegetical tradition that Montano may be referring to, but suggests the “animated Tabernacle beams” of “old bearded men” might be taken from the Midrash, in which the beams “correspond to the Seraphim.”¹³⁹ The anthropomorphized beams may not represent a Christian exegetical source, but a Jewish one. The image seems to be associated with the *Sefer Charedim* of 1550 in which rabbinical author R. Eliezer Azkari compares the human body to the Temple of the Lord: “You are a temple for the presence of the Holy King . . . sanctify your heart and soul as well as (all the) limbs of your body.”¹⁴⁰ In this case, Montano presents a typology—the relationship between the body of the faithful and the Temple, prefigures the perfect body of Christ. Paul wrote that the body of the Christian is a member of

¹³⁸ Montano, “Exemplar,” in *Biblia sacra*, Vol. VIII.

¹³⁹ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 66, note 97.

¹⁴⁰ 66:27.

Christ and “a temple of the holy spirit.”¹⁴¹ It is well-known that Montano consulted rabbinical sources and he may have been familiar with the *Sefer Charedim*. Furthermore, Montano seems to be highlighting the connection between the Ark of Noah, the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon. What all four structures have in common, according to the Polyglot’s interpretation of them, is the physical presence of God among his people. First in the Ark of Noah, then the Ark of the Covenant which was placed inside the Tabernacle and ultimately reposed in the Temple of Solomon. While more research is needed, it is tempting to propose that the “old” wood, which serves as a metaphor for the Old Testament and Hebrew language. The truth of God’s presence (the Ark of the Covenant) is hidden in the arcane language, the structural surround. The Pentateucal Covenants, the “old” law, is enclosed by an architectural surround in the Polyglot’s frontispiece opening in volume one. According to Montano, these need to be plumbed for the Christian truths hidden within. For the Christian, the body of Christ as prefigured in Ark of Noah is associated with God’s true presence in the Ark of the Covenant enclosed by the Tabernacle. Only the priests can enter, which is why the draperies as pulled back in drawing four, the *Tabernaculi absoluti*. These truths are hidden in the Old Testament and revealed to the Christian. It is important to note that all three profile views of the Tabernacle in volume eight feature the anthropomorphized planks of wood.¹⁴²

Fig. 3-34 (vol. VIII, p. 28). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculi exteriori*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The *Tabernaculi exteriori* shows the second stage, the completed Tabernacle without its textile coverings, built according to the exact scriptural specifications. The human figures seen

¹⁴¹ Corinthians 6:13-20.

¹⁴² Such images with hidden faces or anthropomorphisms were common in Hapsburg sponsored art of the sixteenth century and can be associated with artists such as Marcus Gheeraerts (1520-1590) and Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527-1593); research on this topic *in progress*.

on the interior wood beams are seen here as well (Fig. 3-34a). Some of the figures are shown in twisted perspective, that is, the torso in profile and the faces frontally or in three-quarter view. The wood beam base supports appear as anthropomorphic feet. There is an obvious connection between the body of Christ and the Ark (the new covenant hidden in the old) and these “old men” hidden in the Tabernacle (locus of Hebrew worship during wanderings). Isaiah is quoted throughout the Polyglot, and used by Plantin as a prophetic paradigm in his *Tabularum explicatio* in volume one. Unlike Protestant bibles of the period which incorporate similar Tabernacle illustrations, there is an additional meaning here when Ark and Tabernacle are viewed in the same context. For Montano, sacred archeology of the Old Testament prefigured and revealed hidden New Testament Christian truths. In relation to things “old” and “new,” Isaiah wrote: “Thus says the Lord: Remember not the events of the past, the things of long ago consider not; see, I am doing something new!” (43:18-19) Christians related this prophecy to Revelation: “And he who sat on the throne said, ‘Behold, I make all things new’” (21:5). Such typologies were expedient for Philip, Christian king of Jerusalem, who wished to recast the Old Testament and the Old Jerusalem in light of Christ, the enfleshed Word and New Testament, who “makes all things new.”

Fig. 3-35 (vol. VIII, p. 30). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculi absoluti*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

Tabernaculi absolute shows the completed Tabernacle with its multiple textile coverings. The artist has left the outer draperies pulled back in part so that the viewer can admire the detail in which they were rendered. This type of drapery esthetic, with multiple, deep folds of heavy drapery, was an admired element in northern European art of the period, and it is clear that the artist wanted to register here his mastery of this technique. The textile layers are shown here as they are described in Exodus 26: twisted linen; blue, purple and scarlet stuff with “worked”

images of cherubim, and drapery made of goat's hair. The goat skins are patched together, and one can see the stitch marks on the back side, which has been folded outward toward the viewer. One is able to see a detail of the wood-plank figures on the inside view to the left (Fig. 3-35a). This may be a metaphor, illuminated elsewhere in the Polyglot: in a revealing/concealing way, the edifice (Ark, Tabernacle, and Temple) encloses the beauty of the true presence of God. Renaissance artists including Raphael (*The Sistine Madonna*, c. 1514) employed a similar tactic with painted curtains in sacred imagery. The curtain surround, the artifice made by human hands, variously reveals and conceals God's handiwork, the mystery of Christian truth simultaneously hidden and revealed within. In "Sive de Tabernaculo," (vol. VIII) Montano describes the Tabernacle in great detail, including the type of purple and red fabric that should be used. In "Sive de Tabernaculo" Montano introduces himself as: "Ben. Ariae Montani, Hispalensis Beseleel," that is, "Spanish Bezaleel." Bezaleel was the artist named in Exodus who built the Tabernacle. Here, Montano as editor and exegete, is the builder.

These architectural drawings of the Tabernacle are a common feature in earlier bible editions of the period (Fig. 3-35b). The Ark, Tabernacle, Temple and priest illustrations in the Polyglot can be associated with woodcuts used to illustrate Robert Estienne's Latin bible of 1540. The prototypes for these often repeated bible illustrations were ultimately derived from the *Postilla litteralis super totam bibliam* of Nicolas of Lyra (1270-1349).¹⁴³ Nicolas was a medieval Franciscan cleric and Hebraist who popularized the earliest-known exegetical illustrations of this kind in bibles. Just as Montano would do 200 years later, Nicolas consulted rabbinical literature including the Rashi (1040-1105). Nicolas promoted a literal reading of

¹⁴³ See Walter Cahn, "Notes on the Illustrations of Ezekiel's Temple Vision in the *Postilla litteralis* of Nicholas of Lyra," in *Between Judaism and Christianity. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, eds., K. Kogman-Appel and M. Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 155-167; see also Bowen and Imhof, 93-94, ill. 3:18 and 3:19, 97-98.

scripture, and his *Postilla* had an important impact on Reformed theologians including Luther. Estienne's illustrations were taken from this earlier *Postilla* tradition, but adapted by his contemporary, the Hebraist François Vatable (d.1547). The Estienne-Vatable illustrations became standardized as bible illustrations and were widely copied.¹⁴⁴ The Polyglot's illustrations borrowed from this tradition, but made alterations to suit the unique ideology of the royal project. The similarities to other bible editions can be related to a common literalist approach to scripture—an interest Montano shared with his Reformed contemporaries.

Fig. 3-36 (vol. VIII, p. 32). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Candelabri, Altarium, & Arce fœderis exemplum*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The inclusion of Holy Land maps in the Polyglot was an unusual choice for a Spanish Catholic bible of the period, as they are more commonly associated with a Protestant literal reading of scripture. The same is true of the Temple implements depicted here. Such illustrations, which include the lampstand, altar of holocaust, laver of bronze, mercy seat and shewbread, were commonly found in Protestant editions, including Willem Vorsterman's Bible of 1528, a Dutch translation based on Luther's German translation.¹⁴⁵ The same implements are shown here, but finely rendered in copperplate and situated in a landscape. Earlier editions, including Vorsterman, typically showed the objects individually rendered in woodcuts. In the Polyglot, the copperplate engravings permitted a single grouping and landscape setting.

As scholars have pointed out, "the emphasis on these objects attests to an archaeological impulse, enacted in a close, literal reading of scripture."¹⁴⁶ But more than this, Montano

¹⁴⁴ See Bowen and Imhof, 94; Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts: Part I, French 16th Century Books*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), no. 68; E. Armstrong, *Robert Estienne Royal Printer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 72-75.

¹⁴⁵ Clifton and Melion, 109.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

promoted a close reading of scripture in *Hebrew*. Montano shares this hermeneutical impulse with Protestant biblical editors, but to a different end. Like the shekel, these cult objects, together with the ancient biblical texts, served as part of a pseudo-collection in paper which validated Philip's title as King of Jerusalem. There were also evidence of Spain's Hebrew pedigree—literal artifacts in Philip's *Un Mundo Sobre Papel*. The idea of a portable world or cabinet as a concept related to the Polyglot as propaganda is supported by Montano's notion that his publications, particularly his scriptural emblem books, served as portable *stadium* or *studiolo*, a virtual study and place of contemplation.¹⁴⁷ As scholars have observed, "Many of (Philip's) projects existed only on paper, but he clearly realized the value of publication."¹⁴⁸

Concerning the ways in which the Polyglot illustrations and maps differ from their earlier woodcut and Protestant counterparts, Bowen and Imhof make an extremely significant observation: "The novel appearance here of a series of engravings including maps, an archeologically appealing display of cult objects, as well as architectural sections, floor plans, and elevations, would have underscored this text's separation from standard religious works, and strengthened its association with the more exclusive realm of finely illustrated scholarly studies for a wealthy, learned public."¹⁴⁹

Fig. 3-37 (vol. VIII, p. 38). Jan Wierix after Pieter van der Borch, *Castrametationis ordo*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The *Camp of the Israelites* shows the tribe's tents with the Tabernacle situated in the center of the camp, as described in the book of Numbers 2. The tents are labeled and topologically organized according to the significance of the individual tribes. This contiguous arrangement is

¹⁴⁷ See Walter S. Melion, "Benedictus Arias Montanus & the Virtual Studio as a Meditative Place," in *Inventions of the Studio, Renaissance to Romanticism*, eds. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 73-107.

¹⁴⁸ *Philip II and the Escorial*, 9.

¹⁴⁹ Bowen and Imhof, 99.

important as the order of the camp is given by God as a list. Judah is first, situated on the east side of camp (at the bottom right, front), in the favored position. “Occident” is clearly labeled at the top of the image in order to emphasize that east, the favored section of camp, is situated at the bottom. The Polyglot encampment is very close to the design found in Estienne’s Latin Bible of 1540. Such illustrations showing the desert camp is a tradition that stems from Nicholas of Lyra, who conceived the camp as a square. In Estienne’s version, the camp is rectangular and seen from a bird’s-eye view. The Polyglot camp follows Estienne’s version, with a rectangular design.

The figures in the Polyglot image are presented in ethnographic dress, with beards and pointy headpieces, and their well-ordered encampment extends to the horizon. Such chorographically oriented images can be associated with views of towns such as those found in Braun and Hogenberg’s *Civitates*. Compositionally, the image is identical to the *Domus Israel* in volume four of the Polyglot (Fig. 3-20). Such bird’s-eye views of towns have a parallel in painting, and were popularized by the Antwerp artist Bruegel in the 1540s. Later sixteenth-century literati had a broad cultural understanding of regional views and their cartographic relationship to geographic maps. The “views” in the Polyglot were engaged by contemporary audiences in conjunction with the geographical maps—a practice endorsed by Ptolemy.

This view in particular would have had special resonance for Philip. It can be closely associated with Pedro Perrets’s (1555-c.1625) *Perspectiva general de todo el edificio* of the Escorial San Lorenzo monastery, an engraving of 1587.¹⁵⁰ Philip began construction of the Escorial in 1557, and it was ongoing during Montano’s tenure at his court and construction of the Polyglot. Perret, likewise, would have been familiar with the Polyglot images. While Perret’s

¹⁵⁰ See *Philip II and the Escorial*, 28.

Perspectiva is a horizontal rather than longitudinal view, it is compositionally almost identical to the *Camp of the Israelites*. The monastery is shown from a bird's-eye view and surrounded by a rectangular enclosure. This enclosure is surrounded by a well-ordered view of nature to the horizon, with small, undulating hills. San Lorenzo represented the heart of the new Temple in Philip's new Jerusalem. Like the heart and center of the Israelite encampment, the Ark of the Covenant within the Tabernacle, so too was the San Lorenzo basilica featured at the center of Perret's view. This is where Philip, the new Josiah/Solomon/Aaron, prayed daily before the tabernacle in the sanctuary of the chapel. In both views, God literally dwells within an architectural edifice in the center. If the Polyglot's *Domus Israel* presented an idealized microcosm of Philip's empire, then the *Camp of the Israelites* is its Old Testament prototype.

Fig. 3-38 (vol. VIII, pp. 36-37). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Templi Jerosolymitani antiqui*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

In the *Templi Jerosolymitani antiqui*, Solomon's Temple is seen from above with its delimiting boundaries. It is meant to be viewed in conjunction with the Temple elevation, as shown in the next illustration, in which both the plan and elevation are viewed together on one page. In ancient city planning, the principle building or tower is located at the axis of the city plan; it serves as an *umbilicus*, that communicates vertically with the heavens.¹⁵¹ In this case, the temple plan and temple elevation are visually linked and comply with a topographical archetype a learned audience would have understood. The sacred character of this elevation-and-plan relationship was central to Philip's design for the Escorial.

Fig. 3-39 (vol. VIII, p. 39). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Sacrae aedis icnographia*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

¹⁵¹ Edgerton, 17.

Here Montano refers to the Temple *icnographia* or plan, as contrasted with the Temple *orthographia*, or profile. Both the plan and elevation of the Temple are meant to be viewed in tandem. The manipulation and understanding of perspectival systems were activities central to early modern humanists, and are applied here.¹⁵² The detail in the upper right shows the colossal cherubim and palm trees which Solomon was instructed by God to adorn the Temple's sanctuary (1 Kings 7). Architectural renderings of the Temple were ubiquitous in early modern scholarly works, and these images became more visually complex throughout the sixteenth century, as seen in Juan Bautista Villalpando's *Ezechielem Explanationes* of 1596.¹⁵³ Depictions of the Temple distinguished between Ezekiel's prophetic vision of an imaginary Temple (43:7) and the literal Temple of Solomon mentioned in Kings. Christian exegites described Ezekiel's vision of the Temple as the architectonic embodiment of Christianity triumphant.¹⁵⁴ Villalpando's "fantasy" Temple can be contrasted with Montano's drawings of the Temple, which he intended to reflect a literal representation of the actual Temple of Solomon. The details for the Polyglot's Temple drawings were taken, remarkably, from the Mishnah and Middoth, which describe the Temple and its environs in detail.¹⁵⁵ Villalpando criticized Montano's drawings for their strict historicism, and for their blatant disregard for Ezekial and Vitruvius.¹⁵⁶ For Montano, "the place of Jewish religion was grounded...in historically specific buildings, structures and rituals."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² For more on perspectival systems in the Renaissance, see James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

¹⁵³ Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt, *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400-1800* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 250-254.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 254.

¹⁵⁵ Smith and Schmidt, 254. The Temple and Tabernacle drawings are reproduced in Montano's *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum* of 1593.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Fig. 3-40 (vol. VIII, p. 41). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Templi cum porticu et cellis absoluta orthographia*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

In the *Templi cum portico*, the Temple tower serves as an impressive umbilicus when viewed in profile. Montano's close reading of Hebrew scripture resulted in these very detailed architectural renderings, and comparisons can be made between this drawing, conceived by Montano, and the design of the Escorial.¹⁵⁸ We know from his court chronicler Fray José de Sigüenza (1544-1606) that Philip preferred an architectural style for the Escorial buildings known as *estilo desornamentado*, that is, a "plain style."¹⁵⁹ The Escorial, designed by Philip's architect's Juan de Herrera (1530-1597) and Juan Bautista de Toledo (d. 1567), was built in part to honor Charles V's request that his son build a Pantheon to serve as a mausoleum for Spain's monarchs. To honor his father without deviating from his own tastes, a circular crypt was built below the basilica sanctuary, crowned by a colossal colonnaded monstrance on the altar above.¹⁶⁰ Charles fashioned his reign after the emperors of Rome, while Philip promoted himself as Solomon king of the "true" Jerusalem. The link between Philip and Solomon was promoted in a range of ways, including a portrait of the king as Solomon. Lucas de Heere's *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (St. Bavo Cathedral, Ghent) was commissioned on the occasion of the chapter of the Golden Fleece held in Ghent in 1559. In this image, Philip is depicted in the guise of Solomon on his throne, and Sheba, who freely offers herself to the king, is the personification of Flanders.

¹⁵⁸ Philip II and the Escorial, 55.

¹⁵⁹ George Kubler, *Building the Escorial* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1982), 127. Philip did not have a court biographer *per se* as he refused to commission a biography. He did, however, have many court chroniclers, *cronistas del rey*; see Richard L. Kagan, "'Official History' at the Court of Philip II of Spain," in *Princes and Princely Culture 145-1650*, eds. Martin Gosman, Alasdair Macdonald and Arjo Vanderjagt, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 249-276.

¹⁶⁰ Kubler, 13.

Fig. 3-41 (vol. VIII, p. 7). Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Sacerdotis antiquae sanctis*, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

This image of Aaron the high priest can be associated with Montano's treatise titled "Aaron, or a description of all the vestments and ornaments." The priest's garments, as described in Exodus 39, include ephod, breastplate and pomegranate trim on the skirt. The altar of incense is shown to the priest's left and a sacrificial ram to his right. Two figures in classical garb lead a bull to slaughter in the middleground. This image of Aaron was popularly used in other biblical editions, but here, there may be specific references to Philip.¹⁶¹ First, the priest is typically shown with hands up, or holding a censor, but this engraving is associated compositionally with the Polyglot's *Pietas regias* frontispiece (Fig. 3-2). When viewed side-by-side the figures mirror each other almost identically (Fig. 3-41a). Designed as compositional quotation marks and pendants, they are also situated toward the very front and very back of the eight volumes. Like *Pietas*, Aaron is set in a barren landscape with a flaming altar to his left. Both figures stand between two "trophy" trees of olive and fig. Aaron's is draped with symbols of sacrifice: shofars, kindling material and cutting tools. Toward the top of each tree hang the draped skin of two rams. While the roof of the Tabernacle was made of rams' skins, the composition of these skins is remarkably like contemporary representations of the Golden Fleece, the Order of which Philip was 'Chief and Sovereign.'

Philip promoted himself as priest/king, and this figure of Aaron is remarkably similar to a possible crypto-portrait of Philip as St. Jerome with St. Augustine, painted by Alonso Sanchez Coello in 1580 (Basilica, Escorial). The figures are compositionally related, standing in a similar posture, and share the same facial features—arguably those of Philip. The Jerome figure reads from a holy book propped on an altar. It is rare to find a painted subject that includes both

¹⁶¹ See illustration of Aaron, *Biblia Sacra* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1540).

Jerome and Augustine.¹⁶² Furthermore, Jerome is typically shown translating, not reading, holy scripture, as he is here. The figure of Augustine, remarkably, holds a small model of the Escorial. Philip's chronicler Sigüenza emphasized Philip's attendance at daily Mass, great piety, and preference to live as a friar among friars at the Escorial monastery.¹⁶³ As New Testament priest offering the Polyglot to the nations, Philip fulfils God's command, "I demand mercy not sacrifice. . . ." (Hosea 6:6)—that is, conversion and peaceful unity, by word rather than by the sword.

Fig. 3-42 (vol. VIII, p. 3). Pieter Huys(?) after Peter Laickstein, *Antiquae Jerusalem*, map, engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm.

The last image in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible is a "true plan of ancient Jerusalem," and was designed after a map by Peter Laickstein of 1566 which was reproduced in many editions.¹⁶⁴ Montano's map made one significant change from Laickstein's, however. Laickstein depicted Solomon's Temple as a ziggurat, but here, Montano replaces it with the Temple plan as seen in the Polyglot's architectural drawings.¹⁶⁵ As King of Jerusalem, it is tempting to imagine that this "true Jerusalem" may have served as an idealized vision of Philip's Madrid. This composition is almost identical in every detail to Jürgens' map of Madrid and the Escorial commissioned by Philip, titled *Spanische Städte*.¹⁶⁶ Philip chose a rugged, mountainous region just outside Madrid as the site of the Escorial just outside Madrid. The austere towered edifice set axially upon a stone, gridded plaza, and is situated in a level valley surrounded by low mountains. While Kubler denies any direct connection between the Escorial and the Solomon's Temple, the

¹⁶² Kubler, Appendix 1.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 13.

¹⁶⁴ Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 43.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 47.

¹⁶⁶ See Kubler, map no. 8 in appendix.

topographical plans are almost identical.¹⁶⁷ Samuel Edgerton sees the Escorial's gridded plaza and cardinal orientation as a cosmological symbol; he explains the relationship between the Escorial and Solomon's Temple, as well as the significant cartographic language employed in the Escorial's design. His description is succinct and validates the argument put forth in this research: "The most egregious microcosmic example of Renaissance astrobiology was the Escorial (with) the same threefold arrangement as in the temple of Solomon. The whole vast complex sat upon a grand gridded plaza (and Philip) believed absolutely that it was his divine mission to extend the Christine empire to the farthest corners of the earth. Charles (had adopted the) emblem of the Pillars of Hercules, but (Philip) dropped the word 'non' as urging 'Push ever (westward) beyond . . . the Pillars!' One may well imagine him meditating upon this challenge in his great (library) filled with (editions) of Ptolemy. In an age (so) conscious of visual metaphor, (Philip), as he stood in his vast Escorial plaza, must surely have imagined himself standing at the umbilicus of the world."¹⁶⁸ Like an idealized map of Madrid with the Escorial at its center, surrounded by the mountainous Castillian landscape, this "true" Jerusalem is the visual summation of Philip's cosmography. The regions outside the walls are marked by three crosses on Calvary hill juxtaposed with the dead Judas hanging from a dead tree (Fig. 3-42a).

Multiple letters in volume one of the Polyglot are signed by Philip, "Yo el Rey, Madrid, 1572." This serves as a time signature and location stamp repeated over and over in the Polyglot's introductory material. "Madrid" marks Spain's capital as the heart and epicenter of Philip's Christian universe. The date ties Philip's cosmography and history of empire to the present. This "true" Jerusalem looks backward *and* into the future. It is both the prototype and

¹⁶⁷ Kubler, 42.

¹⁶⁸ Edgerton, 48-49.

vision of Philip's new Jerusalem, set in a Christian landscape—the capital of a peaceful, well-administered dominion that is homogenous, fiercely orthodox Catholic, and above all, Spanish.

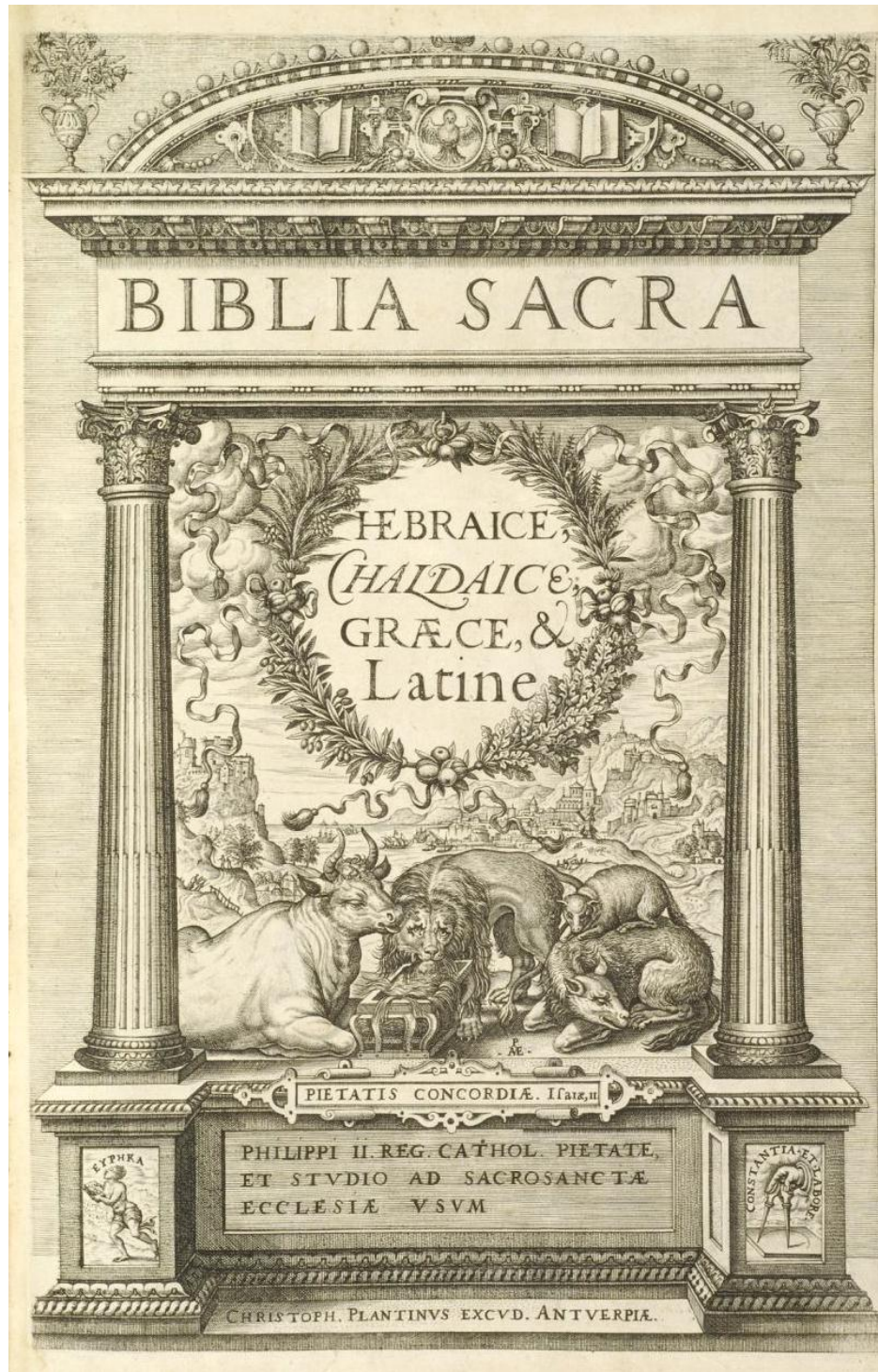
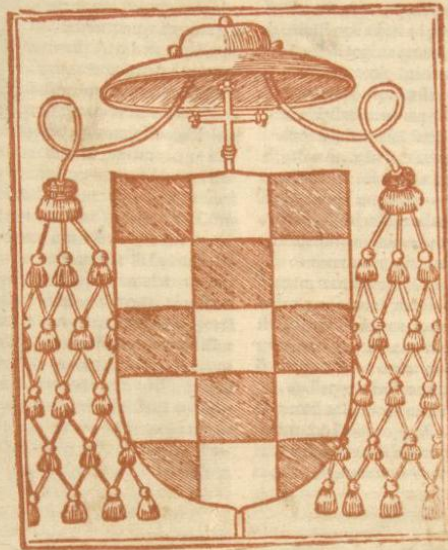


Figure 3-1. Vol. I, folio 3 recto, Pieter van der Heyden after Crijspijn van den Broeck (?), *Pietatis Concordiae*, main titlepage, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. A) Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, titlepage, *Alcalá Polyglot*, 1517-1522. Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. FC211.51. B) Detail, *Pietatis Concordiae*.

Haec tibi pentadecas tetragonon respicit illud
 Hospitium petri ⁊ pauli ter quinqz dierum.
 Namqz instrumētum vetus hebdoas innuit: octo
 Lex noua signatur. ter quinqz receptat vtrunqz.



Vetus testamentū multiplici lingua nūc
 primo impressum. Et imprimis
 Pentateuchus Hebraico Gre-
 co atqz Chaldaico idioma-
 te. Adiūcta unicuiqz sua
 latina interpreta-
 tione.





B



Figure 3-2. Vol. I, folios 3 verso and 4 recto, Pieter van der Heyden after Crijspijn van den Broeck (?), *Pietas Regia* (left) and *The Pentateuchal Covenants* (right), dedicatory frontispiece opening, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), engraving, folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. A) Detail, *Pietas Regia*. B) Detail, *The Pentateuchal Covenants*.



A



B

BENEDICTI ARIÆ MONTANI

HISPALENSIS IN SACRORVM

BIBLIORVM QVADRILINGVIVM

REGIAM EDITIONEM,

De diuinæ scripturæ dignitate , linguarum vsu &
Catholici Regis consilio,

PRÆFATIO.



INTER omnes cogitationum, consiliorum,
actionum, curarum, studiorumque rationes,
quibus humanus animus in hac mortali vita te-
neri atque exerceri potest, nullum genus est
quod vel naturæ ipsius magis proprium & con-
sentaneum, vel vtile ac necessarium magis, vel
ad vitam instituendam commodius aptiusque sit, quàm certa &
clara sui ipsius cognitio, nec nō vera ac perspicua originis propriæ,
& causæ, quamobrē editus natūsq. fuerit, notitia, ac demū om-
nium eorum, quæ vel ad ipsius dignitatem & amplitudinē face-
re, vel ad extremam felicitatem conducere ac pertinere possunt,
exacta, optimēque subducta ratio. Omnibus enim naturis
rerum quæ in mundo conditæ conspiciuntur, finem quendam,
& certum ac præscriptum quoddam negotii actionisque genus
constitutū esse constat. quod vbi rectè ex cultum præstitūque
fuerit, suis vniuscuiusque partibus, dignitati ac perfectioni sa-
tisfactum esse existimatur. Ad huiusmodi autem rerum defi-
nitionem exempla illa pertinent, in quibus aues ad volatū, equi
ad cursū, pisces ad frequentādas aquas, dracones, & cete grandia,
ad percurrendum mare, nata esse dicuntur: atque, vt altius etiam
spectemus, nubes ad imbuendā imbribus terram, Solisq. tempe-
randos æstus, Sol, Luna atque astra ad dierum noctiumq. vicissi-
tudines cōstituendas, & ad gubernanda, fouenda, temperandāq.
ea omnia quæ sub cælo sunt corpora, atque adeò ad orbem terra-
rum

* 4

Figure 3-3. Vol. I, folio 5 recto, BENEDICTI ARIÆ MONTANI HISPALENSIS IN SACRORUM BIBLIORUM QUADRILINGUIUM REGIAM EDITIONEM, De diuinæ scripturæ dignitate, linguarum usu & Catholici Regis consilio, PRÆFATIO, preface with stamped historiated initial I, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

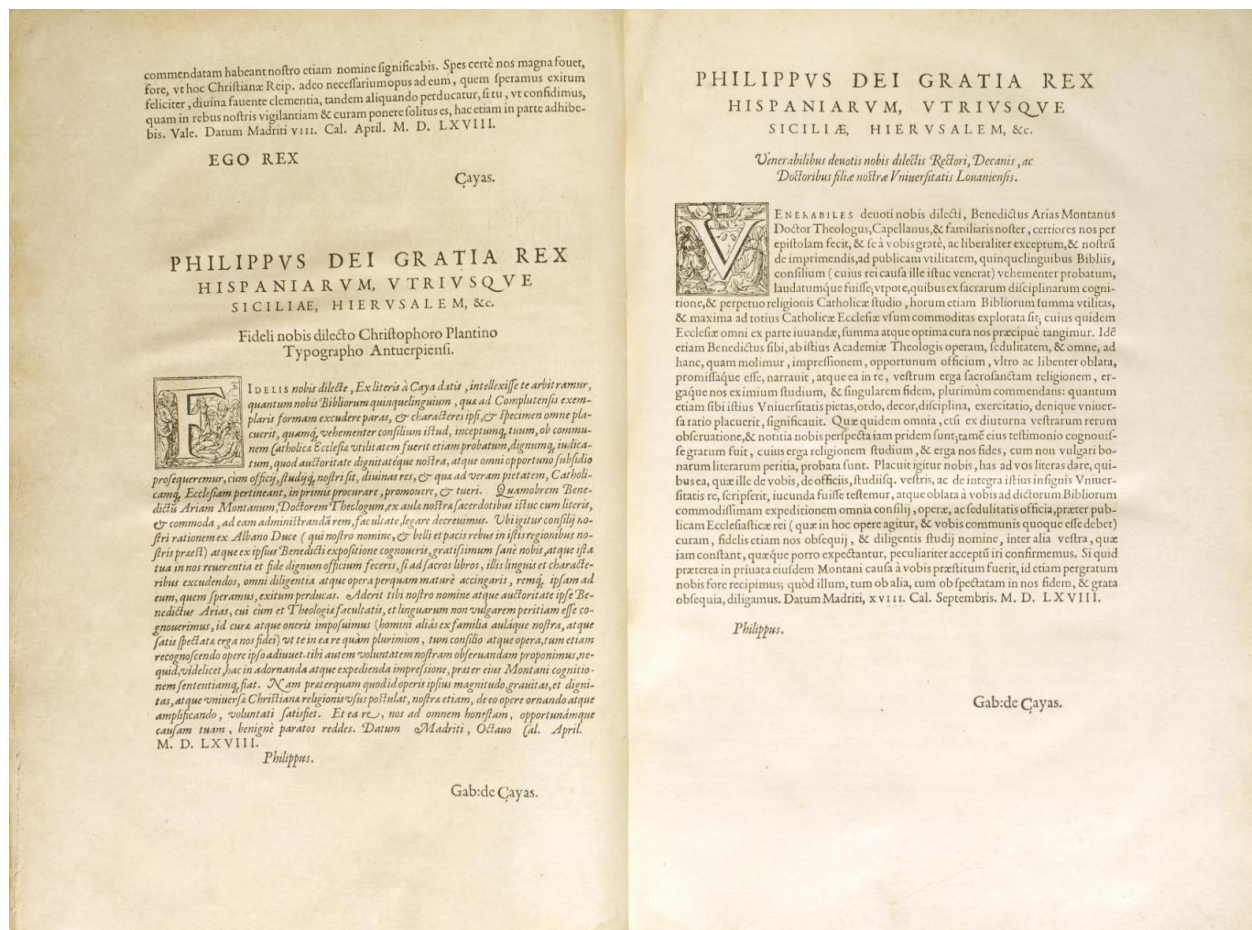


Figure 3-4. Vol. I, folios 23 verso and 24 recto, PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA REX HISPANIARUM, UTRIVSQUE SICILAE, HIERUSALEM, &c. Fideli nobis dilecto Christophoro Plantino Typographo Antuerpiensi, letter with stamped historiated initial F (left), and PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA REX HISPANIARUM, UTRIVSQUE SICILAE, HIERUSALEM, &c. Venerabilibus devotis nobis dilectis Rectori, Decanis, ac Doctoribus filiae nostrae Universitatis Louaniensis, letter with stamped historiated initial V (right), *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. A) Detail, letter F. B) Detail, letter V.

Fideli nobis d
Typo



IDE LIS nobis
quantum nobis
plaris formam
cuerit, quamq,
nem Catholica E
tum, quod auct
prosequeremur, cum officij, studijq,
camq, Ecclesiam pertineant, in prin
dictu Ariam Montanum, Doctore

*Venerabilibus de
Doctoribus fili*



ENERABILI
Doctor Theol
epistolam fec
de imprimen
consilium (c
laudatumque
tione, & perpetuo religionis Cath
& maxima ad totius Catholicæ E
Ecclesiæ omni ex parte iuuandæ,

PHILIPPVS DEI GRATIA

REX HISPANIARVM, VTRIVSQVE

SICILIAE, HIERVSALEM, &c.

Fideli nobis dilecto Christophoro Plantino
Typographo Antuerpiensi.



FIDELIS nobis dilecte, Ex literis à Cayā datis, intellexisse te arbitramur, quantum nobis Bibliorum quinquelinguium, quae ad Complutensis exemplaris formam excudere parās, & characteres ipsi, & specimen omne placuerit, quamq̃, vehementer consilium istud, inceptumq̃, tuum, ob communem Catholicae Ecclesiae utilitatem fuerit etiam probatum, dignumq̃, indicatum, quod auctoritate dignitateq̃, nostra, atque omni opportuno subsidio prosequeremur, cum officij, studijq̃, nostri sit, diuinas res, & quae ad veram pietatem, Catholicamq̃, Ecclesiam pertineant, in primis procurare, promouere, & tueri. Quamobrem Benedictum Ariam Montanum, Doctorem Theologum, ex aule nostrae sacerdotibus istuc cum literis, & commoda, ad eam administrandam rem, facultate, legare decreuimus. Vbi igitur consilij nostri rationem ex Albano Duce (qui nostro nomine & belli & pacis rebus in istis regionibus nostris praest) atque ex ipsius Benedicti expositione cognoueris, gratissimum sanè nobis, atque ista tua in nos reuerentia & fide dignum officium feceris, si ad sacros libros, illis linguis & characteribus excudendos, omni diligentia atque opera perquam maturè accingaris, remq̃, ipsam ad eum, quem speramus, exitum perducas. Aderit tibi nostro nomine atque auctoritate ipse Benedictus Arias, cui cum & Theologiae facultatis, & linguarum non vulgarem peritiam esse cognouerimus, id cura atque oneris imposuimus (homini aliàs ex familia aulaq̃, nostra, atque satis spectata erga nos fidei) ut te in ea re quam plurimum, tum consilio atque opera, tum etiam recognoscendo opere ipso adiuuet. Tibi autem voluntatem nostram obseruandam proponimus; nequid, videlicet, hac in adornanda atque expedienda impressione, praeter eius Montani cognitionem sententiamq̃, fiat. Nam praeterquam quod id operis ipsius magnitudo, grauitas, & dignitas, atque vniuersae Christianae Religionis vsus postulat, nostra etiam, de eo opere ornando atque amplificando, voluntati satisfiet. Et ea re, nos ad omnem honestam, opportunamq̃, causam tuam, benigne paratos reddes. Datum Madriti, octauo Cal. April. M. D. LXVIIII.

Philippus.

Gab: de Cayas.

* 2

Figure 3-5. Vol. I, folio 26 recto, PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA REX HISPANIARUM, UTRIVSQVE SICILIAE, HIERUSALEM, &c. Fideli nobis dilecto Christophoro Plantino Typographo Antuerpiensi, with stamped historiated initial F, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. A) Detail, initial F.

Ty



IDE LIS
mur, quant
exemplaris
omne placu
ob commu
dignumq; i
opportuno subsidio prosequere
ram pietatem, Catholicamq;

A

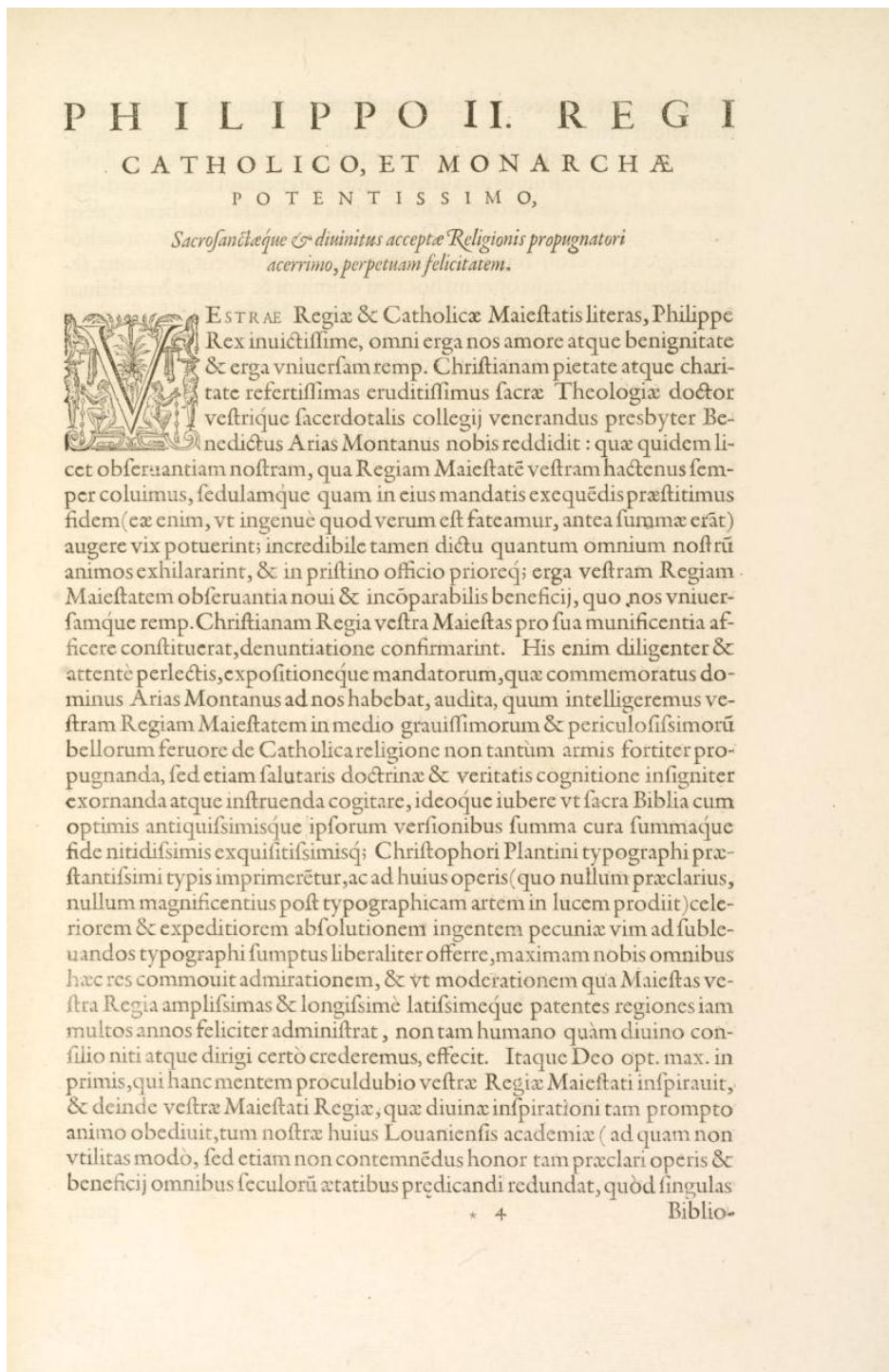


Figure 3-6. Vol. I, folio 28 recto, PHILIPPO II. REGI CATHOLICO, ET MONARCHAE POTENTISSIMO, SACROSANCTAEQUE & DIVINITUS ACCEPTAE RELIGIONIS PROPUGNATORI ACERRIMO, PERPETUAM FELICITATEM, with stamped historiated initial V, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton.

COPIE D'VNE LETTRE
DV DVC D'ALVE A
L'EUESQVE D'ANVERS.

DON Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duc d'Alue, &c. Lieutenant,
Gouverneur, & Capitaine general.



RESREVEREND Pere en Dieu, treschier & bien amé.
Oultre la Bible vniuerselle, que le Roy auoit donné charge au docteur Arias Montanus de faire imprimer en ceste ville en quatre langues avec ses interpretations, lon est aussi apres pour imprimer autres volumes de chose seruât à l'intelligēce de ladicte Bible & parties d'icelle, lesquelles s'intitulent *Apparato sacro*; & entre icelles y a plusieurs escriptz composez par ledict docteur Arias Montanus, & autres personnes doctes, qui ont trauaillé & trauaillent à enrichir cest œuure. Mais comme semblables choses nouuelles, ou non imprimees auparauant, ne se peuuent imprimer sans uisitation & approbation precedente, estant cest œuure plus solemnel que les ordinaires; il conuient que ladicte approbation se face avec toute auctorité & solemnité possible. Et d'autant que ledict docteur Arias Montanus ne peult estre iuge de ses propres escriptz; nous vous requérons, que quand ledict docteur Arias Montanus vous presentera lesdicts escriptz, & pieces seruantes audict œuure, vous les commettiez à la personne ou personnes du college des uisitateurs, que à nostre ordonnance & par auctorité de sa Maiesté vous auez esleu, afin qu'ils les uisitent & approuuent, pour autant que touche la sanité de la doctrine; & que icelle approbation soit aussi solemnizee avec le suffrage de tous ceulx du college, ou la plus grande partie, & l'interuention de vostre auctorité: afin que ceste approbation se face comme requiert vn œuure si principal. Ce que nous vous recommandons tant plus à certes pour auoir entendu par lettres de sa Maiesté, que telle est son intētion. Tresreuerend Pere en Dieu treschier & bien amé, nostre Seigneur vous ait en sa sainte garde.
D'Anuers, ce dernier iour de Februrier 1570.


Le Duc d'Alue.

Subsigné

Courte ville.

Figure 3-7. Vol. I, folio 30 verso, COPIE D'VNE LETTRE DU DUC D'ALVE A LE'VENQUE A'ANVERS. DON FERNANDO ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, DUC D'ALVE, &c. LIEUTENANT, GOVUERNEUR, & CAPITAIN GENERAL, with stamped historiated initial T, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

ALIARVM LITERARVM A
PONTIFICE AD REGEM CATHOL.
POST DISCESSVM ARIÆ MONTANI EX
VRBE EXEMPLVM.

ARISSIME in Christo fili noster, salutem
& Apostolicam benedictionem. Reuertitur ad
Maiestatem tuam dilectus filius Benedictus Arias
Montanus, quem in iis sermonibus quos cum eo
habuimus de sacris Bibliis, Maiestatis tuæ iussu
tam multiplici lingua, tamque accuratè editis, atque ad nos alla-
tis, deque aliis rebus ad Religionem pertinentibus, cognouimus
pium, doctum, ac prudentem; quibus de causis non dubitamus
Maieitati tuæ commendatum fore, atque vbi res tulerit, à tua be-
nignitate fautum, atque adiutum iri. Datum Romæ, apud
Sanctum Petrū, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die xxv. mensis Octob.
M. D. lxxii. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Ant. Buccapadulus.

Figure 3-8. Vol. I, folio 36 recto, ALIARUM LITERARUM A PONTIFICE AD REGEM CATHOL. POST DISCESSUM ARIÆ MONTANI EX URBE EXEMPLUM, with stamped initial C, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

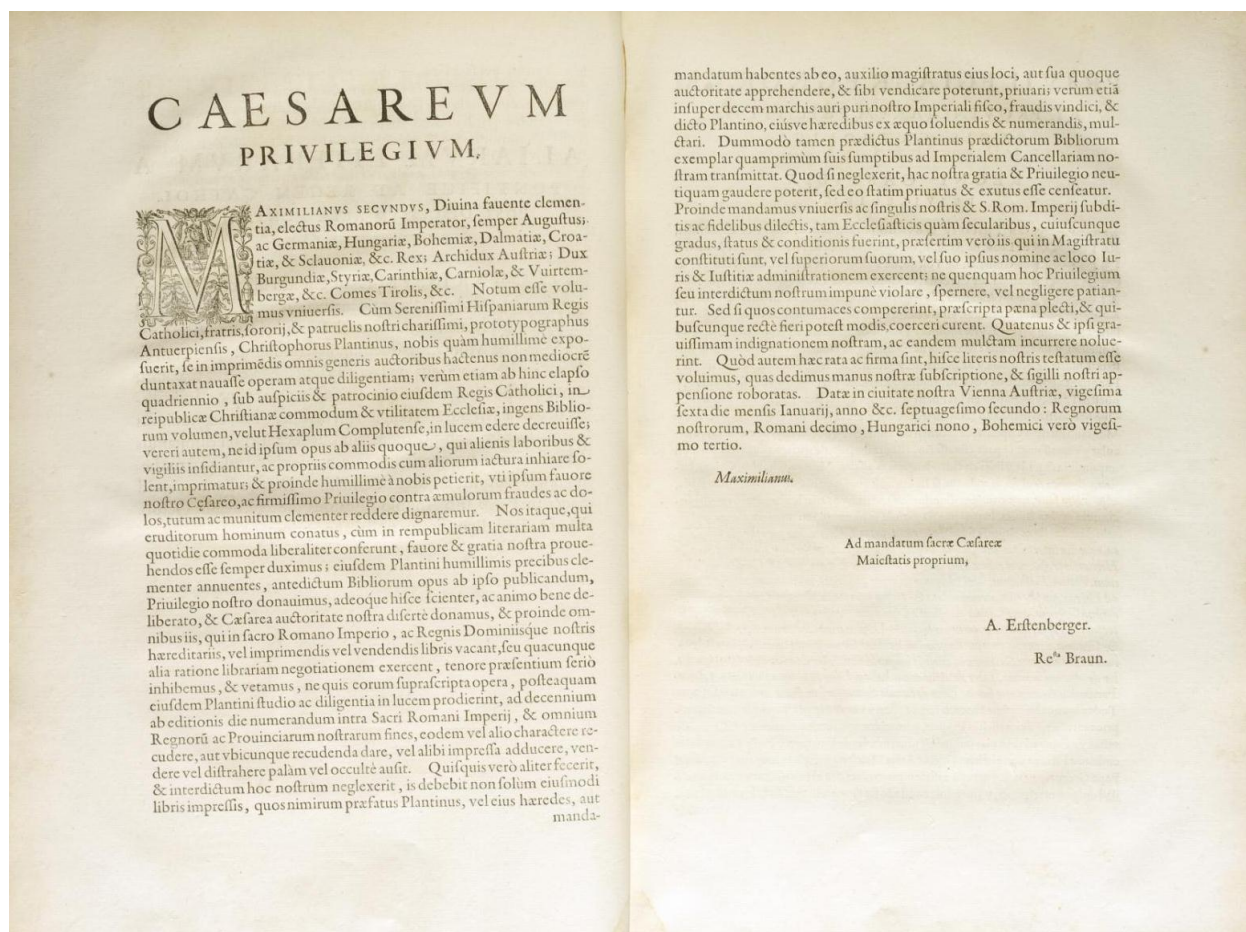


Figure 3-9. Vol. I, folio 36 verso and 37 recto, CAESAREUM PRIVILEGIUM, with stamped initial M, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

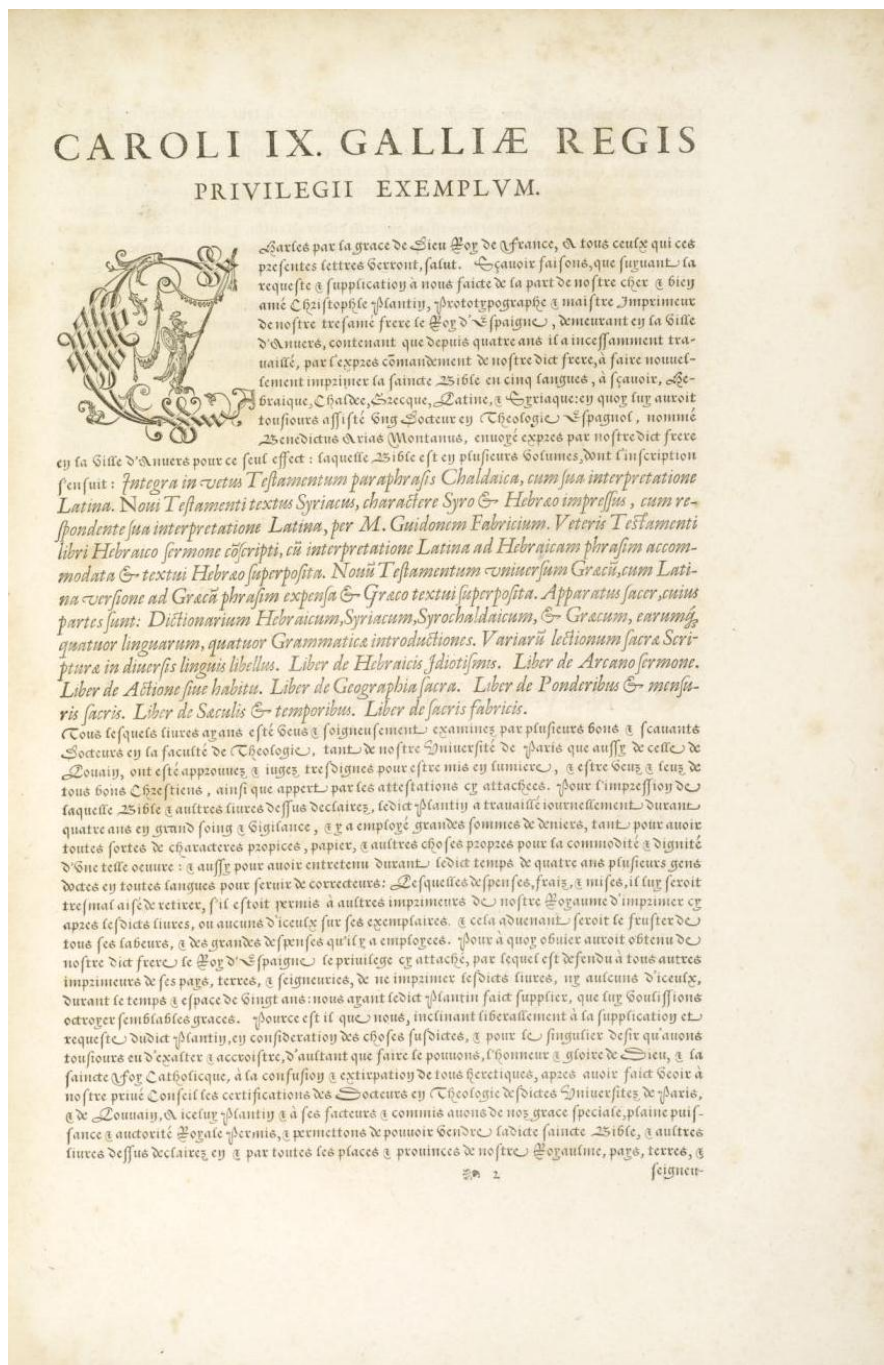


Figure 3-10. Vol. I, folio 42 recto, CAROLI IX. GALLIAE REGIS PRIVILEGII EXEMPLUM, with stamped initial C, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. A) Vol. I, folio 42 verso and 43 recto, CENSURA, ET APPROBATIO THEOLOGORUM PARISIENSIVM (left) and VENETI PRIVILEGII EXEMPLUM (right), type with stamped calligraphic monogram, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

seigneurie de nostre obéissance. Desbordant tresexpressément à tous autres imprimeurs & fa-
briques de compresseurs ledite d'istile, ny aucun de d'istile, soit en particulier & par interposition
parce d'autres livres, ny d'appeler, d'écrite, ny d'écrite en cesur nostre Reglement aucune sen-
sibilité d'istile, qui pourroit estre imprimée ailleurs hors de nostre d'istile Reglement, sur les exem-
plaires d'istile d'istile, soit en tout ou partie, & cedant le temps & espace de vingt ans prochainement
venant, à contredire du jour & date de ces présentes, & en peine de confiscation desdits d'istiles
& livres qui se trouveront d'autre impression qui celle d'istile d'istile, & outre d'istile d'istile d'istile
tournois d'istile, applicables, mespris à nous, & mespris d'istile d'istile d'istile d'istile
d'istile, en l'istile d'istile d'istile d'istile d'istile, & tous nos d'istile d'istile, d'istile
istile d'istile, & facent plainement & payement, jour ledit d'istile, les facteurs & commis, en
mutant ceux qui contrediraient en nos d'istile d'istile d'istile d'istile d'istile d'istile d'istile
sans aucune modération. Car tel est nostre plaisir, Monobstant toutes choses à ce contraires.
Donné à d'istile, le xij. jour d'istile, l'istile de grace, l'istile, cinq cents, soixante, d'istile.
Et de nostre d'istile d'istile d'istile.

Parle Roy.

M^r. Anthoine de S^r. Pol. M^r. des req^{tes}. ordinaire de l'hostel p^{nt}.

Filles.

CENSURA, ET APPROBATIO THEOLOGORVM PARISIENSIVM.

Nos subscripsi Doctores facultatis Parisiensis sacra Biblia Philippi II. Hispaniarum
Regi Catholici mandata, opera vero Benedicti Ariæ Montani Theologi Hispaniensis, &
Guidonis Fabricii Boderiani natione Galli, iuvantibus Francisco Raphelengio, & Nicolao
Fabricio, in lucem emissi, cum ipsorum Dictionariis & reliquo Apparatu, à Plantino typis
Hebraice, Syriace, Græcè, & Latine expressa ad formam Complutensium Bibliorum olim in
Hispania impressorum, vidimus, approbavimus, digna denique censuram quæ à Catholicis le-
gerentur, & opponerentur falsis & impis hæreticorum translationibus, quibus suum imperitis
linguarum sacre conantur. Scriptum, & chirographis nostris signatum, Anno Domini
1572. die quarta Aprilis.

P. Dancius Episcopus Vautoi.

De Saintes.

S. Vigor.

Prouost.

I. Cognieu.

De Quistebœuf.

Gendebat.

VENETI PRIVILEGII EXEMPLVM.

A LOYSIVS *Moximo, Dei gratia, Dux Venetiarum, &c.*
Vniuersis, & singulis Rectoribus, Magistratibus, Officialibus, &
aliis ministris nostris tam presentibus quam futuris, ad quos harum
literarum executio spectat et pertinet, fidelibus dilectis salutem, &
dilectionis affectum. Significamus vobis, hodie in Consilio nostro
Rogatorum captam fuisse partem tenoris infrascripti, & adducit:
Ha ricercato alla Sig^{ra} nostra il Sig. Ambasciator del Ser^{mo} Re
Catholico, qui residente in nome di sua Catholica Maestà,
che vogliamo conceder Priuilegio à D. Christophoro Plantino, cittadino d'Anuersa,
stampatore Regio, per l'impressione, che la Maestà sua hà fatta fare della sacra Biblia,
& del sacro Apparato contenuto in tre tomi, & essendo conueniente darle ogni satisfac-
tione, L'anderà parte, che sia concessa al sudetto D. Christophoro Plantino, citta-
dino d'Anuersa, stampatore Regio, che niun altro, che lui, ò chi hauerà causa da lui,
non possa per il spatio de anni vinti prossimi, stampare, ne far stampare, ne altroue flam-
para vender, sopra della sacra Biblia congiunta con i tomi dell' Apparati, ouero essi
Apparati, ò parte di essi separatamente, si in questa Città, come in alcun luogo del
Dominio nostro, Sotto pena di perder i libri, che si ritrouaessero, quali siano del sop^{ra}
D. Christophoro Plantino, & de pagar ducati trecento, vn terzo de quali sia applicato
alla Casa nostra dell'Arsenal, vno all' Hospedal della Pietà, & l'altro à quell' officio, ò
Magistrato, che farà l'esecutione. Essendo però obligato il sopranominato Plantino,
ò altri per suo nome, offeruar quanto è disposto per le leggi nostre in materia di stam-
pe. Dat. in nostro Ducali Palatio, die xxv. Octob. Indictione prima. M. D. lxxxii.

Ita signatum,



28 3

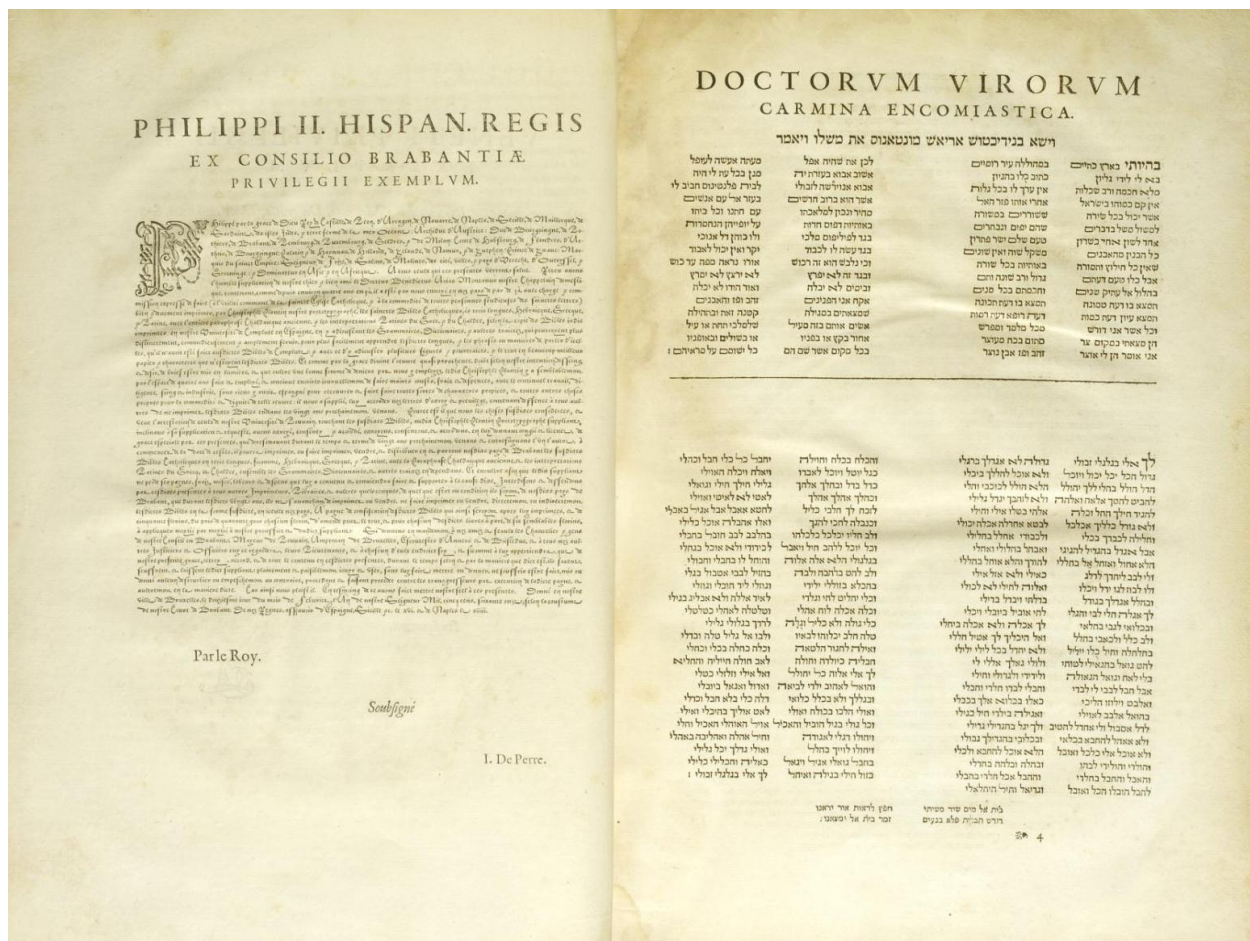


Figure 3-11. Vol. I, folio 43 verso and 44 recto, PHILIPPI II. HISPAN. REGIS EX CONSILIO BRABANTIAE PRIVILEGII EXEMPLUM (left) and DOCTORUM VIRORUM CARMINA ENCOMIASTICA (right), type with stamped initial P, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

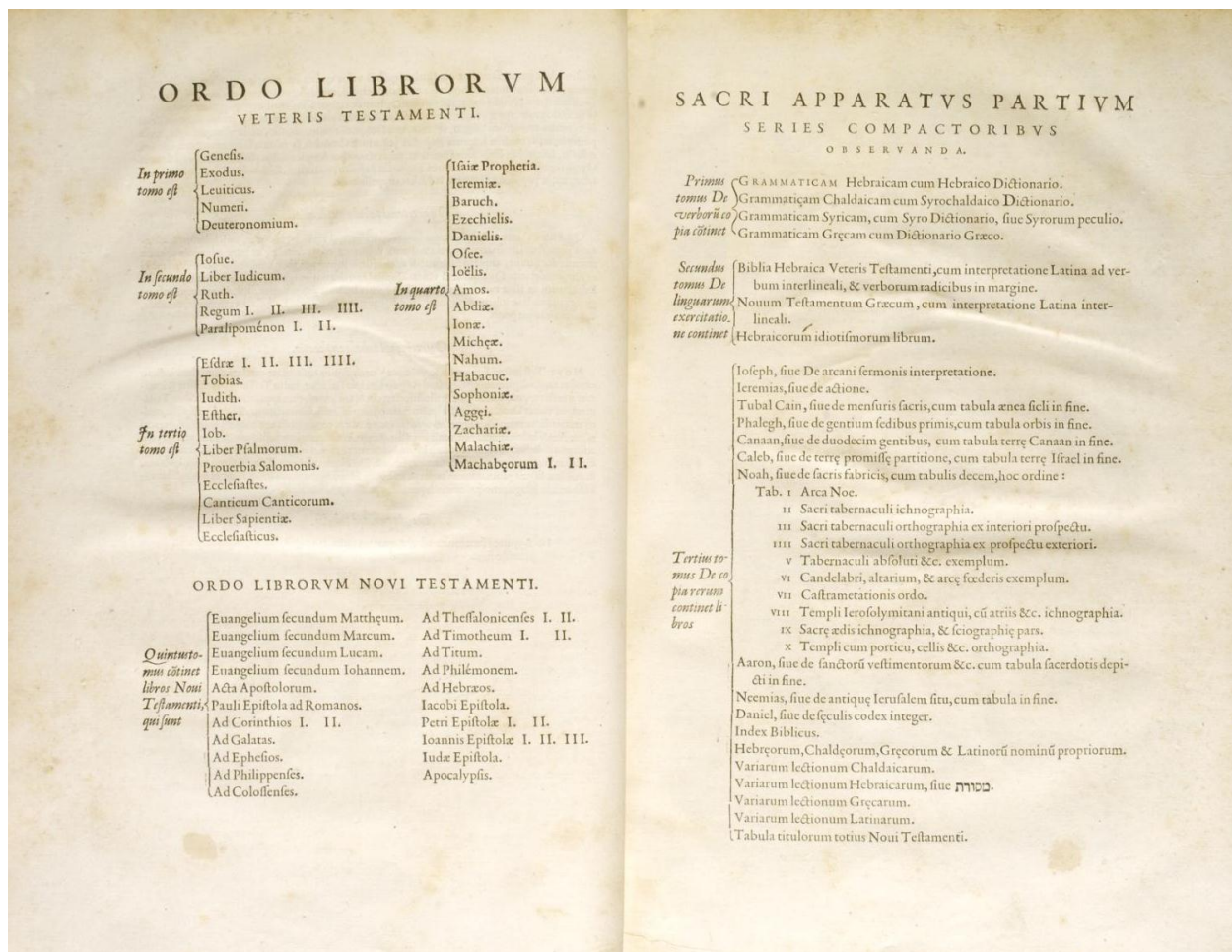


Figure 3-12. Vol. I, folio 49 verso and 50 recto, **ORDO LIBRORUM VETERIS TESTAMENTI** (left) and **SACRI APPARATUS PARTIUM SERIES COMPACTORIBUS OBSERVANDA** (right), *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



Figure 3-13. Vol. I, p. 1, QUINQUE LIBRI MOYSE, Hebrew, Greek and Latin type within woodcut frame, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

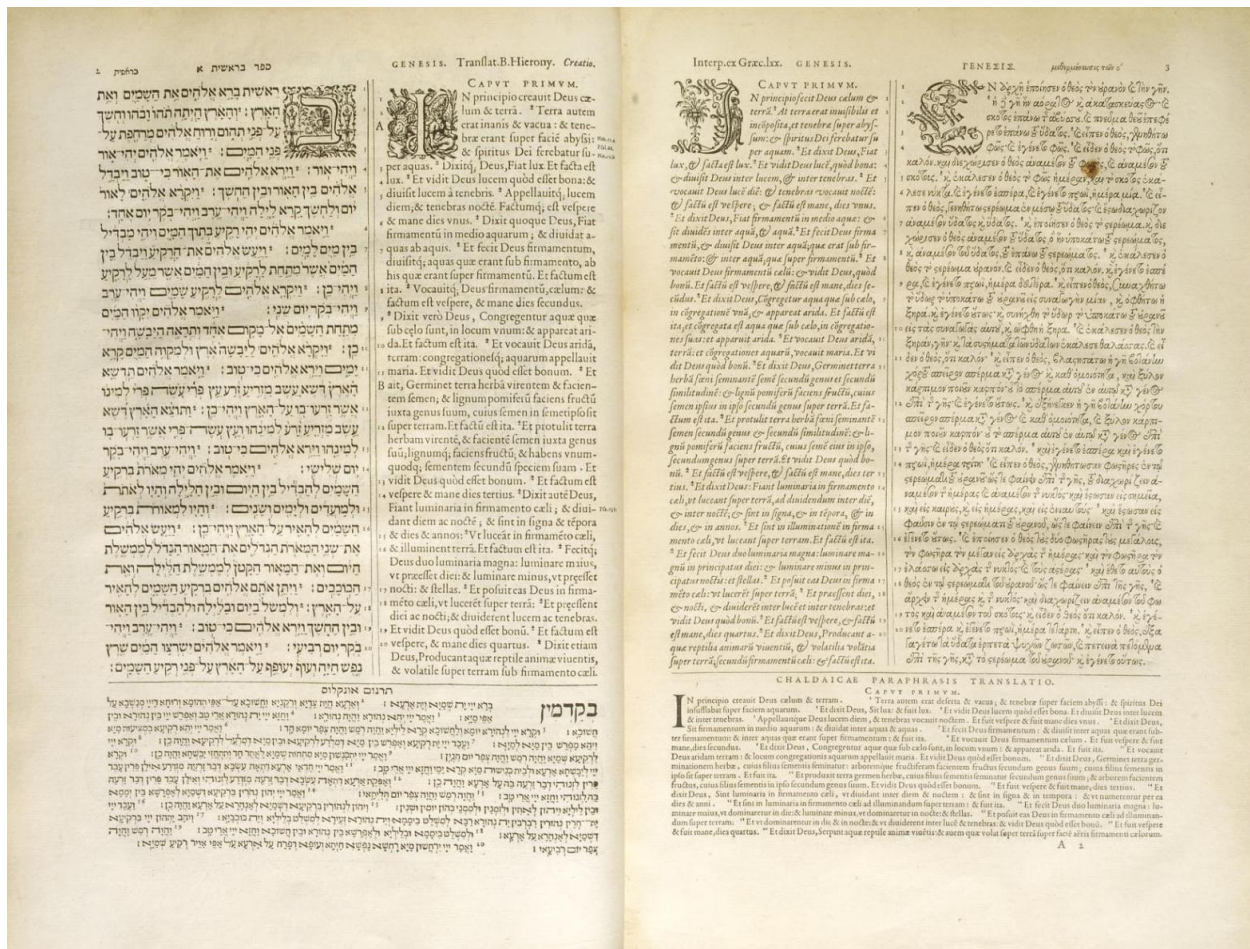


Figure 3-14. Vol. I, pp. 2-3, Genesis, 1:1-20, Hebrew, Latin, italicized Latin, and Greek type with four large stamp initials, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. A) Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Genesis 1:1, *Alcalá Polyglot*, 1517-1522. Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. FC211.51. B) Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Genesis 25:1, *Alcalá Polyglot*, 1517-1522. Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. FC211.51. C) Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Job 27:1, *Alcalá Polyglot*, 1517-1522. Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. FC211.51.

[illegible]

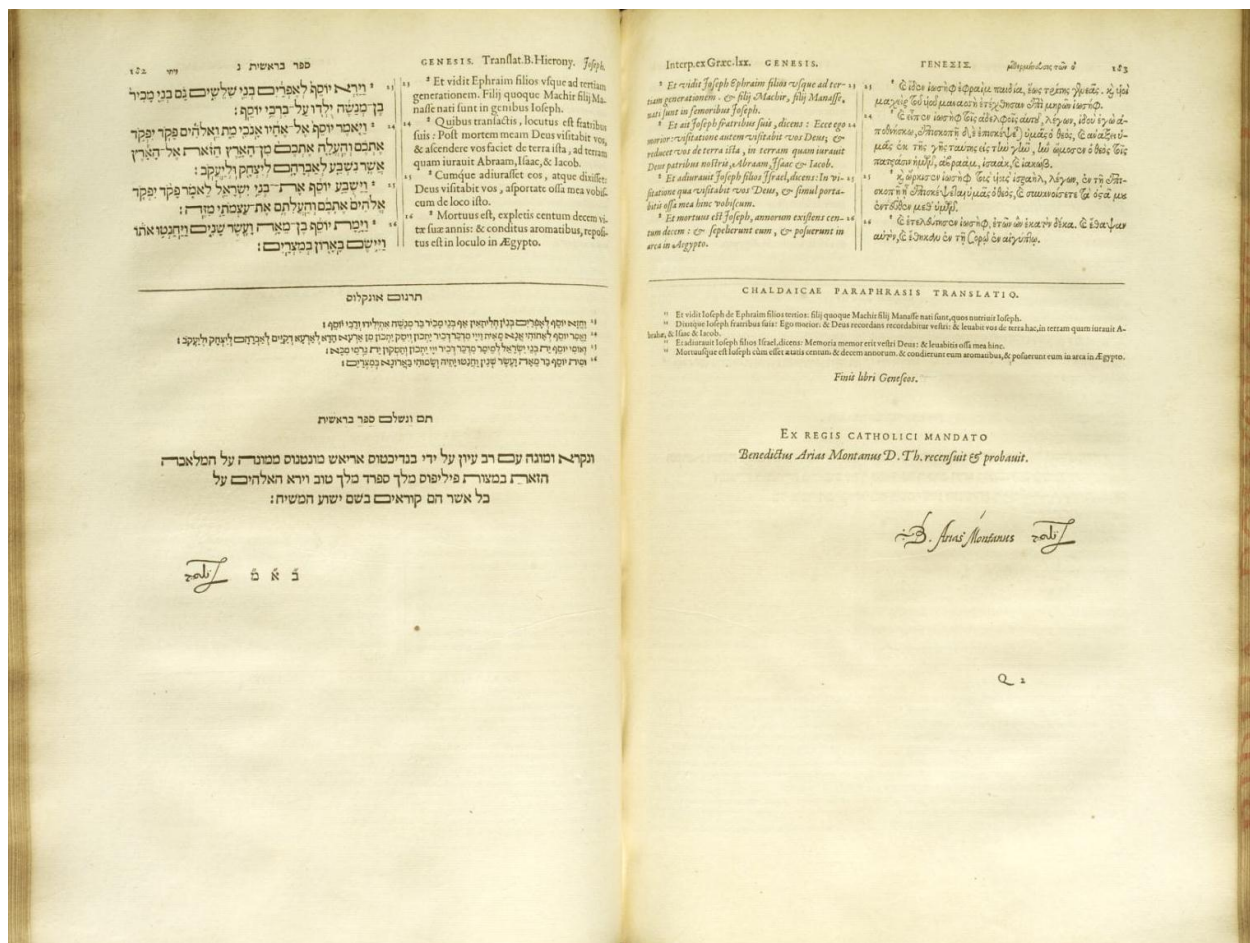


Figure 3-15. Vol. I, pp. 182-183, Genesis, 50:23-26, Hebrew, Latin, italicized Latin, and Greek type with monogram stamps and signature, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



Figure 3-16. Vol. II, folio 3 recto, Jan Wierix after Crijspijn van den Broeck (?), *The Israelites Crossing the River Jordan with the Ark of the Covenant*, frontispiece, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



Figure 3-17. Vol. II, p. 1, PROPHETAE PRIORES, Hebrew, Greek and Latin type within woodcut frame, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



Figure 3-18. Vol. III, p. 1, SANCTI LIBRI, Hebrew, Greek and Latin type within woodcut frame, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

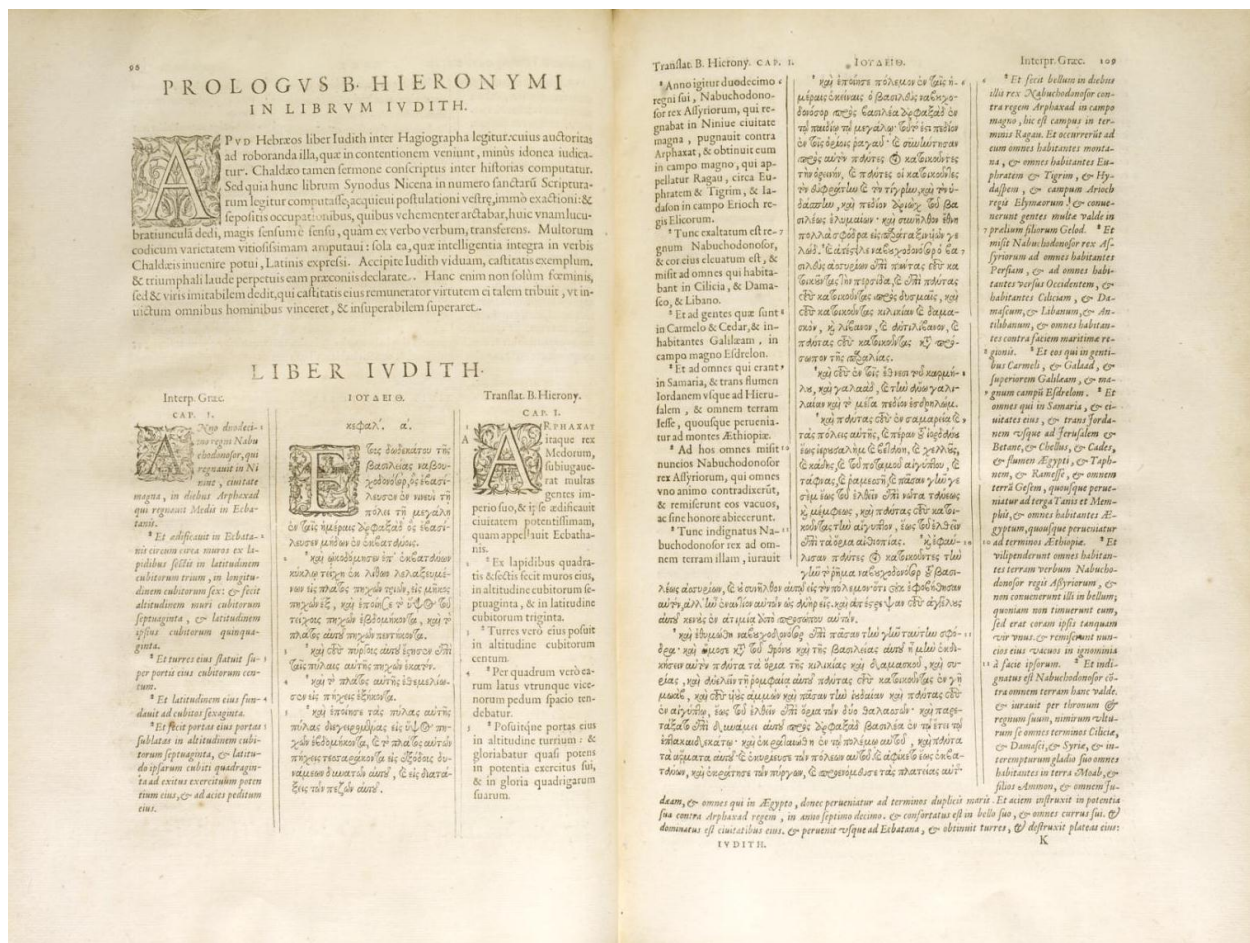


Figure 3-19. Vol. III, pp. 108-109, Judith, 1:1-11, italicized Latin, Greek and Latin text with stamped initials A, E and wrapped text, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. A) Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Judith 1:1, *Alcalá Polyglot*, 1517-1522. Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. FC211.51. B) Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Judith 1:7-3:1, *Alcalá Polyglot*, 1517-1522. Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. FC211.51. C) Vol. III, p. 121, Judith, 7:9-12, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. D) Vol. III, pp. 130-131, JUDITH, 11:1-13 *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

**Incipit Prologus. B. Hieronymi presbyter
in librum Judith.**

A PUD hebreos liber Iudith inter agiographa legitur: cuius autoritas ad roboranda illa que in contentionem veniunt: minus idonea iudicatur. Chaldeo tamen sermone conscriptus inter historias computatur. Sed quia hunc librum synodus nicena in numero sanctarum scripturarum legitur computasse: acquieui postulationi vestre: immo exactioni & sepositis occupationibus quibus vehementer arcetab: huic vnam lucubratiunculam dedi: magis sensum e sensu q̃ ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi: sola ea que intelligentia integra in verbis chaldeis inuenire potui: latinis expressi. Accipite Iudith viduam: castitatis exemplum. & triumphali laude perpetuis eam preconis declarate. Hanc enim non solum feminis: sed & viris imitabilem dedit qui castitatis eius remunerator virtutem talem tribuit vt inuictum omnibus hominibus vinceret: & insuperabilem superaret.

Explicit prologus.

Trás.gre.iudith.cū iter.lat.Trásla.B.D.Trás.gre.iudith.cū iter.lati.


Anno duodecimo
 Ετους δ'ωδ'εκάτου τῆς
 regni nabuchodo
 βασιλείας ναβουχοδονο
 σοφο:: ὃ regnavit
 ἑξήκοντα, ὅς ἐβασιλεύσεν

in milite civitate magna in
 in muni tē πάλαι tē μεγάλην ἐν ταῖς
 plebs arphad ad regnavit me
 κλησὶς ἀρφαδὸς ὅς ἐβασιλεύσεν με
 dis in ecbatis. tē edificavit in
 οὐκ ἐν ἐκβατικῷ. καὶ ἀνοδομήσεν ἐν
 ecbatis circūcirca muros ex lapidib⁹ se
 ἐκβατικῶν κύκλῳ τεῖχῃ ἐν λίθῳ λαλα
 cis in latitudine cubitoz trium: in
 ἐνυδίων ἐν πλάτος πυχῶν τριῶν, ἐν
 latitudine cubitoz sex: tē fecit altitudinē
 μικρὸς πυχῶν ἑξ, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ ὕψος
 muri cubitoz septuaginta: t
 τοῦ τεῖχος πυχῶν ἑβδομηκοντα, καὶ τὸ
 latitudine ipsius cubitoz quinquaginta.
 πλάτος αὐτοῦ πυχῶν πεντηκοντα.
 t turres eius statuit sup
 καὶ τὰς πύργους αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ
 portis eius cubitoz centi: t
 τὰς πύλαις αὐτῆς πυχῶν ἑκατόν, καὶ
 latitudine eius fundavit ad cubi
 τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς ἑξαμείλυσεν ἐν κυβί
 toz sexaginta. t fecit portas e
 καὶ ἐποίησε τὰς πύλαις αὐ
 toz portas sublatas in altitudinis cubitoz
 τὰς πύλαις διεσπυρομένης ἐν ὕψος πυχῶν
 septuaginta: t latitudō ipsarū cubi
 ἑβδομηκοντα, καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῶν πέν
 ti quadraginta ad ceteros ecerunt
 καὶ ἡ τεσσαράκοντα
 un potentium eius: eis ἐβρόντος δυναμεί
 un ἐν πύργοι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν διατάξεσιν τῶν
 pedum eius, t fecit bellum in
 πύργοι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐποίησε πτολίμνην
 plebs illis rex na
 τὰς κτήσεις ἐκείνας ὁ βασιλεὺς να
 buchodonosor cōtra regem arphad ad
 βαυχὸν νόστρον τῆς βασιλείας ἀρφαδὸς ἐν
 campo magno. hic est cam
 πὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τῆς μεγάλης. τοῦτο ἐστὶ πεδ
 pus in terminis ragau. t occurrunt
 ἐν τοῖς ὅροις βαλγῶν. καὶ συνήκισται
 ad cum oēs hitantes
 τῆς αὐτῆς πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τῆ
 montana: t omnes hitantes e
 ἑσπέρην, καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τῆς ἐ
 phracem t hitati t hyaspem
 φρατῆν καὶ τὸν τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸν ὕψους

INCIPIT TRANSLATIO
tio beati Hieronymi
libri Iudith.

Capitulum primum.



 Rphaxat itaq; Rex
Medorum subingra
uerat multas gen
tes imperio suo: &
ipse edificauit ciui
tatem potentissimam quam ap
pellauit Egbathanis. Ex lap
idibus quadratis & sectis fecit
muros eius: in altitudine cu
bitorum septuaginta & in latit
udine cubitorum triginta. Turres
vero eius posuit in altitudine
cubitorum centum. Per qua
dratum vero earum latus vtrum
q; vicenorum pedum spacio
tendebatur. Posuistq; portas
eius in altitudine turrium: &
gloribatur quasi potens in
potentia exercitus sui: & in
gloria quadrigarum suarum.

Anno igitur duodecimo regi
ni filii Nabuchodonosor rex
Assyriorum: qui regnabat in
niniue ciuitate magna: pugna
uit cōtra arphaxat: & obtinuit
eum in campo magno: qui ap
pellatur Ragau: circa Eufra
tem & Tigrim & Iadalon in
campo Erioch regis Ellicorum.
Tunc exaltatum est regnum na
buchodonosor: & cor eius ele
uatum est: & misit ad omnes

[illegible]

7 campum arioch regis elymco
 και πεδιον ἀριαχ 7 βασιλείως ἐλυμὰ
 rum. 7 cōuenientibus mulie valde in
 ων και συνελθόν ἐν τῇ πολλᾷ σφοδρῶ εἰς
 plicium filioz gelod. 7 milit
 παράταξιν υἱῶν γελώδ. 7 ἀπεστειλε
 nabuchodonosor 7 rex alffyrionum
 ναβουχοδονοσορ 7 βασιλεὺς ἀσσυρίων
 ad omnes habitantes pere
 ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν πε
 nam. 7 ad omnes habitan
 σίδας, και ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦν
 tes versus occidentem. 7 habitan
 τες πρὸς δυσμαίαν, και τοὺς κατοικοῦν
 tes ciuitatem 7 damascum 7 libanu
 τας κιλικίαν και δαμασκὸν και λίβανον
 7 antilibanum. 7 omnes habita
 και ἀντιλίβανον, και πάντας τοὺς κατοικ
 tantes cōtra faciem maritimeregionis
 κούντης κατὰ πρὸς ὠπὴν τῆς παραλίας,
 7 eos in gētibas carmel: 7 gala
 και τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ῥέμασι 7 καρμὲλου, και γαλα
 ad 7 supior galileam 7 magnū ci
 σὸν και τὴν ἀνω γαλιλαίαν και τὴν μεγάλην
 pum eldromo. 7 omnes qui in fa
 δῖον ἰσδρωμάμ, και πόδας τοὺς ἐν σα
 maria 7 ciuitates eius: 7 trans
 μαρῖαν και τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς, και πέρα
 iordanem vsqad hierusalem 7 beta
 τοῦ ἱερουσαλὺς ἕως ἱερουσαλὺς και βετα
 ne 7 chellus 7 cades 7 flu
 νη και χελλὸς και κάδης και τοῦ ποτα
 men egypti 7 iaphne 7 ramellex
 μου αἰγυπτίου και ταφνὸς και ῥαμέστη,
 7 omnes terrā gēiem quousq; pueniatur
 και πᾶσας γῆν ἰσραὴλ ἕως τοῦ ἔλθαι ἐπὶ
 terga tanis 7 memphis: 7 oēs
 νῶτε τάνων και μεμφίως, και πάντας
 habitantes egyptum: quousq;
 τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν αἰγυπτὸν, και
 pueniatur ad iermsio ethiope. 7 villen
 ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη αἰθιοπίας. 7 ἐφρασί
 derūt omnes habitantes terram
 σας πάντας ἐ κακοκοντὺς τὴν γῆν 7
 verbum nabuchodonosor regis alff
 ῥημα ναβουχοδονοσορ 7 βασιλείως ἀσσυ
 rionum: 7 nō cōueniunt illi in bellum:
 οὐκ ἐννοήσαν συνελθόν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν πόλεμον
 qm nō immerunt cum: federat coram,
 7 τοὺς ἐκ ἐκδοκῆσαν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἐννοήσαν
 ipso tanq; vir eius. 7 remiserunt nuncios
 τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐρὸς και ἀπεστειλάν τοὺς ἀγγέλους
 eius vacuos in ignominia 7 facie ipsorum
 αὐτῶν κενούς ἐν ἁτιμίᾳ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν
 Bbb.

* Filij Israhel non in lancea, nec in sagitta confidunt, sed montes defendunt illos, & muniunt illos colles in præcipitio cōstituti.

* Vt ergo sine congregatione pugnae possis superare eos, pone custodes fontium, ut non hauriant aqua ex eis, & sine gladio interficiet eos, vel certe fatigati, tradent ciuitatem suam, quam putant in montibus positam, superati nō posse.

* Et placuerūt verba hæc coram Holoferne, & corā satellitibus eius, & constituit per eorum centenarios per singulos fontes.

* Cumque ista custodia per dies viginti fuisset expleta, defecerunt cisternæ & collectiones aquarū omnibus inhabitantibus Bethuliam, ita ut non esset in ciuitate vnde satiaretur vel vna die, quoniam ad mensurā dabatur populis aqua quotidie.

* Tunc ad Oziam congregati omnes viri, scemi-

* ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐκ ἔστι τὰν ὑδάτων ἰσραήλ, ἢ πεποιθασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕψεσι τὰν ὀρέων ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ κατοικοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἢ γὰρ ἐστὶν δι' ἄλλας παρὰ βελῶνας κορυφαὶς τὰν ὀρέων αὐτῶν.

καὶ νῦν θέσποτα μὴ πολέμῳ παρὰ τὰς κατὰ ὥρας γίνε' πολέμῳ παρὰ τὰς ὥρας, καὶ ἡ πεποιθὶς ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ σου ὡς δυνήεις· ἀνήμερον δὲ τῆς παρεμβολῆς σου διαφυλάσων πάντα διόρα ἐκ τῶν διωγμάτων σου· ὅτι πικρὴ ἡσυχία σου τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος, ἢ ἐκ ποταμῶν ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης τοῦ ὄρους· διότι ἐκεῖθεν ὑδροβόον' πάντες· καὶ τοικοῦντες βετουλίαν· καὶ ἀνελίξαι αὐτὰς ἡ δὲ ῥα, καὶ ἐκ δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἑαυτῶν· ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν διαλεχόμεθα ἐπὶ ταῖς πλησίον κορυφαῖς τὰν ὀρέων, ὅτι παρεμβολὴν ἐπ' αὐταῖς παρὰ βελῶνας· ὅτι μὴ ἐξελθὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰς (καὶ τὸν) ἐν τῇ λιμῇ αὐτοῖς, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν· ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐλθόντων τῶν βομφοῦν ἐπ' αὐτὰς, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐν αἷσι πλάττειν τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν· καὶ αὐτὰ πόδας αὐτοῖς· αὐτὰ πόδα ποιεῖν, αὐτὴν ὡς ἐστὶς αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ πύλαις αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν.

* καὶ ἤρσαν ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον ὁλοφέρνη, καὶ ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν θεισάντων αὐτὸν· ὅτι συνετάξε ποιῆν κατὰ ἐλάλησάν.

* καὶ ἀπ' ἧσαν παρεμβολὴν ὑδὸν ἀμμῶν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν χιλιᾶδες πέντε ὑδὸν ἀσσοῦ· ὅτι παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν· καὶ παρὰ τὰς ὕδας τὰς πηγὰς τὰν ὑδάτων τὰν ὑδὸν ἰσραήλ· καὶ ἀνέβησαν οἱ υἱοὶ ἡσαὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἀμμῶν, καὶ παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ ἀπὸ κἀκεῖ δὴ δαείμ· καὶ ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε νοτοὶ· ὅτι ἀπὸ λιμνῶν ἀπὸ κἀκεῖ δὴ δαείμ, ἢ ἐν πλησίον χουσί, ἢ ἐν τῇ τοῦ χειμάρρου μοχμῶς· καὶ ἡ λαοπὴ ερεβὰ τὰν ἀσσοῦ παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἐκάλυψαν πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τὸν ὄρειον καὶ αἱ σιλῶναι· αἱ ἀπαρτίαι αὐτῶν κατεστρεπείδυσαν εἰς πλῆθος πολὺ σφοδρῶς.

* καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ἰσραὴλ δόσαντες αὐτοῖς κλέοντες αὐτῶν, ὅτι ὡλιγοψύχοις τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐκώκλωσαν πάντες· ἐξ ἑβρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν ἐκ μετῶν αὐτῶν· ὅτι ἐμύρον κυκλῶ αὐτῶν πᾶσα συναγωγὴ ἀσσοῦ, οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὰ ἄρματά καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν ἡμέρας τετακονταέσας·

cooperuerunt omnem faciem terre, & tabernacula & sarcina eorum castrafecerunt in multitudine multa valde.

Et filij Israhel clamauerunt ad Dominum Deum eorum, quoniam defecit animo spiritus eorum, quoniam in circuitu erant omnes inimici eorum, & non poterant fugere de medio eorum: & manserunt in circuitu eorum omnis congregatio Assyriorum, pedes & currus, & equites eorum diebus trigintaquatuor.

IV DITH.

L

* Nam populus iste filiorum Israhel, non confidunt in lanceis suis, sed in sublimitatibus montium in quibus ipsi habitant in eis: non enim est facile procedere per vertices montium eorum.

* Et nunc domine ne prælium in eas aduersus eos sicut fit prælium aciei, & non cadet de populo tuo ut vir vnus: mane in castris tuis custodiens omnem virum ex exercitu tuo. & obtineant serui tui fontem aquæ, qui exit de radice montis, quia inde aquantur omnes habitantes Bethula, et interimet eos sitis, & tradent ciuitatem suam: & nos & populus noster ascēdemus super proximam altitudinem montium, et castrametabimur super eas in custodiam: ne exeat de ciuitate vir vnus. & contabescant in fame ipsi, & uxores eorum, & filij eorum, & antequam veniat gladius super eos, subuertentur in plateis habitacionis eorum. & retribues eis retributionem malam, eò quod rebellauerunt, & non obediunt faciei tue in pace.

* Et placuerunt verba eorum coram Holoferne, & coram omnibus satellitibus eius. & constituit facere sicut locuti fuerunt.

* Et recesserunt castra filiorum Ammon, & cum eis millia quinque filiorum Assur, & castrametati sunt in valle; & præoccupauerunt aquas & fontes aquarum filiorum Israhel: et ascenderunt filij Esau & filij Ammon, & castrametati sunt in montanis contra Dothaim, & miserunt ex eis ad Austrum & Subolanum contra Eirebel, quæ est prope Chusi, quæ est super torrentem Mochemur. & reliquis exercitus Assyriorum castrametati sunt in campo, &

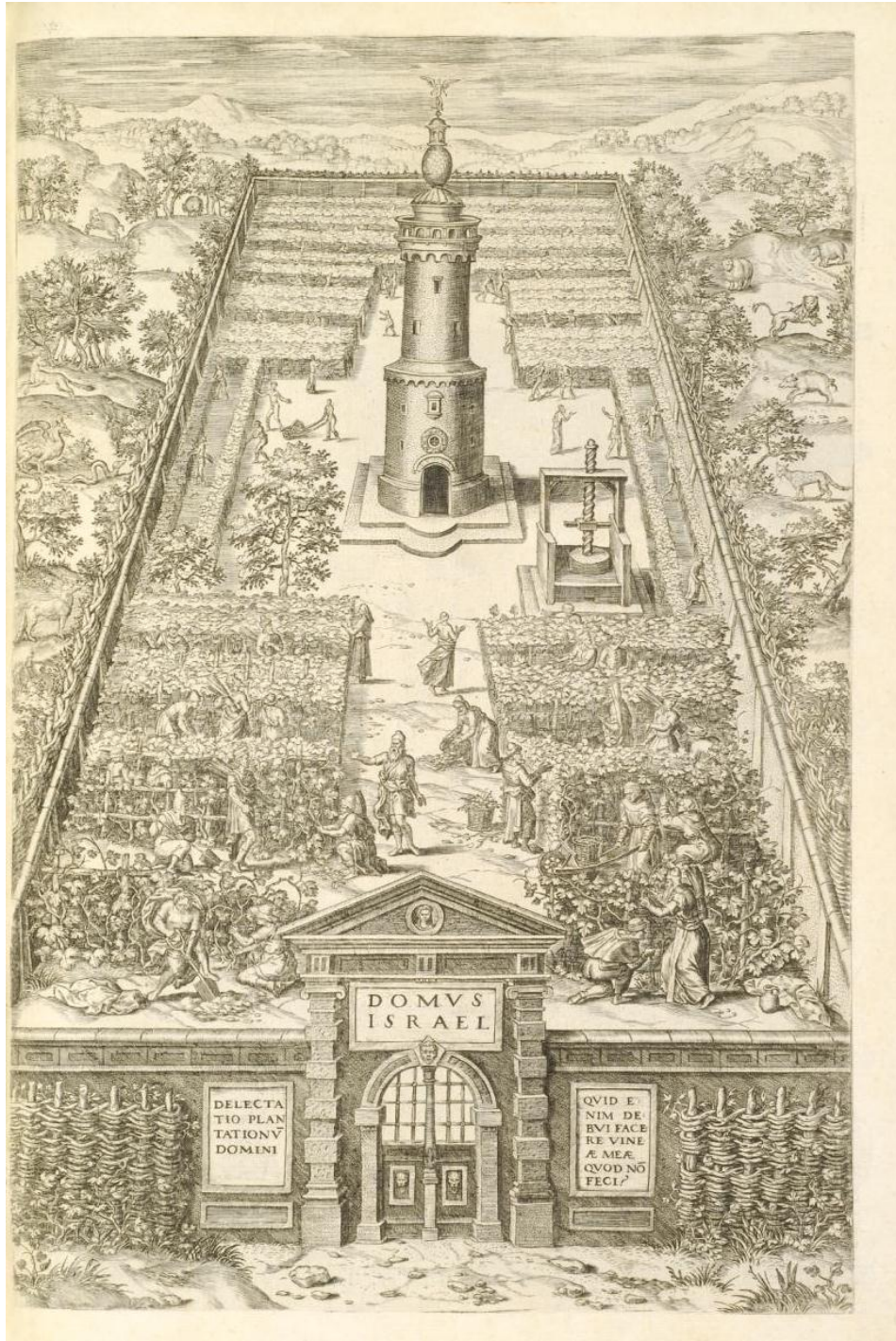


Figure 3-20. Vol. III, folio 3 recto, Jan Wierix after Pieter van der Borcht (?), *Domus Israel*, frontispiece, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Vol. III, pp. 456-457, Baruch 1:1, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). B) Vol. III, p. 129), Machabees 1:1, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey

PRAEFATIO IN LIBRUM
BARUCH.

IBER iste qui Baruch nomine prenotatur in Hebraeo canone non habetur, sed tantum in vulgata editione: similiter & epistola Hieremie. Propter notitiam autem legentium hic scripta sunt: quia multa de CHRISTO nouissimi que temporibus indicant.

BARUCH.

CAP. I.

Et haec verba libri que scripsit Baruch filius Neriae filii Maasae filii Sedeciae regis Iudaie in Babylonia.

In anno quinto septima mensis, in die qua cepimus Chaldaeis Hierusalem, & incendimus eam in igne.

Et legit Baruch scriptura filii Iosiam regis Iudaie, & in auribus omnium populi venientis ad librum, & in auribus potentium & filiorum regum: & in auribus seniorum, & in auribus omnium populi a paruo usque ad magnam eorum omnium habitantium in Babylonia ad flumen Sud.

Et sicut erat & ieiunauerunt, & valant orationes in conspectu Domini.

Et congregavit argentum sicut uniuersumque potuit munus.

Et miserunt ad Hierusalem ad Iosiam filium Helciae filii Salom facientesque ad faciem eius: & ad omnem populum qui inueniunt sunt cum eo in Hierusalem.

Cum accepisset iste vasa domus Domini quae ablata fuerant de templo, & reduxerunt in terram Iuda decima Sibani: & decima filii Ioseph rex Iudaie.

BAPOYX.

ΚΕΦΑΛ. Α.

Et haec verba libri que scripsit Baruch filius Neriae filii Maasae filii Sedeciae regis Iudaie in Babylonia.

In anno quinto & in septimo die mensis in tempore quo cepimus Chaldaeis Hierusalem, & succendimus eam in igne.

Et legit Baruch scriptura filii Iosiam regis Iudaie, & in auribus omnium populi venientis ad librum, & ad aures potentium filiorum regum, & ad aures prophetarum, & ad aures populi, & ad maximum usque ad maximum eorum omnium habitantium in Babylonia ad flumen Sud.

Qui audientes plorabant & ieiunabant & orabant in conspectu Domini.

Et collegit pecuniam secundum quod potuit uniuersumque munus.

Et miserunt ad Hierusalem ad Iosiam filium Helciae filii Salom facientesque ad faciem eius, & ad reliquos sacerdotes, & ad omnem populum qui inueniunt sunt cum eo in Hierusalem.

Cum accepisset vasa templi Domini quae ablata fuerant de templo, & reduxerunt in terram Iuda decima die mensis Sibani, vasa argentea quae fecit Sedecias filius Iosae rex Iudaie.

BARUCH

PROPHETA.

CAP. I.

Et haec verba libri que scripsit Baruch filius Neriae filii Maasae filii Sedeciae regis Iudaie in Babylonia.

In anno quinto & in septimo die mensis in tempore quo cepimus Chaldaeis Hierusalem, & succendimus eam in igne.

Et legit Baruch scriptura filii Iosiam regis Iudaie, & in auribus omnium populi venientis ad librum, & ad aures potentium filiorum regum, & ad aures prophetarum, & ad aures populi, & ad maximum usque ad maximum eorum omnium habitantium in Babylonia ad flumen Sud.

Qui audientes plorabant & ieiunabant & orabant in conspectu Domini.

Et collegit pecuniam secundum quod potuit uniuersumque munus.

Et miserunt ad Hierusalem ad Iosiam filium Helciae filii Salom facientesque ad faciem eius, & ad reliquos sacerdotes, & ad omnem populum qui inueniunt sunt cum eo in Hierusalem.

Cum accepisset vasa templi Domini quae ablata fuerant de templo, & reduxerunt in terram Iuda decima die mensis Sibani, vasa argentea quae fecit Sedecias filius Iosae rex Iudaie.

Translat. B. Hieronymi. CAP. I.

BAPOYX.

Interp. Grec. 47

Postquam cepisset Nabuchodonosor rex Babyloniae Hierusalem, & principes & cunctos potentes & populum terrae ab Hierusalem, & cunctos eos vinctos in Babylonia.

Et dixit: Ecce misimus ad vos pecuniam, de qua emite holocausta, & facite manum, & offerte pro peccato ad vitam Domini Dei vestri.

Et orate pro vita Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & pro vita Balshassar filii eius, & pro die eorum, sicut dies celi super terram.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et pro nobis ipsis orate ad Dominum Deum nostrum, & pro peccatis Domini Dei nostri, & non est auersa furor eius a nobis, vique in hunc diem.

Et legit librum istum quem misimus ad vos recitanti in templo Domini in die solelemni, & in die opportuna.

Et dixit, Dñs Deo nostro iussit nos, & ait: Oportet faciem vestram sicut est dies hae, omni Iuda & habitantibus in Hierusalem.

Regibus nostris & principibus nostris, & sacerdotibus nostris, & prophetis nostris, & patribus nostris.

Peccauimus ante Dñm Deum nostrum, & non credimus. Diffidentes in credi, & non audimus vocem Domini Dei nostri, ut ambularem in mandatis eius quae dedit nobis.

A die qua eduxit patres nostros de terra Aegypti, usque ad hunc diem, & non credimus ad mandatum Domini Dei nostri, & dissimulauimus, ne audiremus vocem ipsius.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

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Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

Et dixit Dominus videntibus nobis, & illuminet oculos nostros, ut viamus sub vmbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae, & sub vmbra Balshassar filii eius, & faciamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.

PROLOGVS B. HIERONYMI
PRESBYTERI IN LIBROS
MACHABAEORVM.

MACHABAEORVM libri duo prænотant prœlia inter Hebræorum duces, gentemque Persarum; pugnam quoque sabbatorū, & nobiles Machabæi ducis triumphos, ex cuius nomine & libri iidem sunt nuncupati. Hæc quoque hystoria continet etiam inclÿta illa gesta Machabæorum fratrum, qui sub Antiocho rege pro sacris legibus dira tormenta perpeſſi ſunt. Quos mater pia, dum diuerſis ſuppliciijs virgerentur, non ſolū non fleuit, ſed & gaudens hortabatur ad gloriam paſſionis.

ALIVS PROLOGVS.

MACHABAEORVM libri licet non habeantur in canone Hebræorum, tamē ab Eccleſia inter diuinorum voluminum annotantur hystorias. Notant autem prœlia inter Hebræorum duces gentesque Persarum; pugnam quoque sabbatorum, & nobiles Machabæi triumphos; fœdus quoque amicitiarum cum Romanorum ducibus atque legationum. Machabæi ſeptē fratres ab vna matre Machabæa nomine geniti, cuſtodientes legem, patris traditionem; non manducantes carnem porcinam, ob hoc ab Antiocho rege ſequiſſimo in Antiochia martyrij gloria coronati ſunt cum matre ſua, atque ſepulti cum magna veneratione ibi quieſcunt.



Translat. B. Hieronymi. CAP. I.

LIBER PRIMVS
MACHABAEORVM.
CAP. I.

ET factū est postquam percussit Alexander Philippi Macedo qui primus regnavit in Græcia, egressus de terra Cethim, Darium regem Persarum & Medorum:

¹ Constituit prœlia multa, & obtinuit omnium munitiones, & interfecit reges terræ. ² Et pertransiit vsque ad fines terræ, & accepit spolia multitudinis gentium, & siluit terra in conspectu eius.

³ Et congregauit virtutē, & exercitum fortem nimis.

⁴ Et exaltatum est & eleuatum cor eius, & obtinuit regiones gentiū & tyrannos, & facti sunt illi in tributum.

⁵ Et post hæc decidit in lectū, & cognouit quia moreretur.

ΜΑΚΚΑΒΑΙΩΝ

πρῶτον.
κςφ. α'.

ΚΑΙ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ παταξαι ἀλέξανδρον τὸν φιλίππου τὸν μακεδόνα, ὃς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς χεττιμ, & ἐπάταξε τὸν δαρείον βασιλέα περσῶν & μέδων, & ἐβασίλευσεν αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλλάδα. ¹ & συνέστησεν αὐτὸς πολέμους πολλούς, & ἐκράτισεν ὀχυρώματα. ² & ἐσφαξέε βασιλεὺς τῆς γῆς. ³ & διήλθεν ἕως ἀκρῶν τῆς γῆς, & ἐλαβε σκῆλα πολλὰς ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἠσύνχασεν ἡ γῆ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. ⁴ καὶ ὑψώθη καὶ ἐπύρην ἡ καρδιά αὐτοῦ. ⁵ καὶ συνέξεδυνάμην ἰσχυρὰν σφόδρα, & ἤρξε γυμνῶν ἐθνῶν & τυραννίδων. ⁶ & ἔχροντο αὐτῷ εἰς φόρον. ⁷ & μέγα ταῦτα ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην, & ἐγινω ὅτι νοσήσκει.

Interp. Græc.

MACHABAEORVM
PRIMVS. CAP. I.

ET factum est postquam percussit Alexander filius Philippi Macedo qui exiuit de terra Chetium, & percussit Darium regem Persarum & Medorum, & regnavit pro eo prius in Græcia. ¹ Et cōstituit praelia multa, & obtinuit munitiones, & interfecit reges terre. ² Et pertransiit vsque ad terminos terre, & accepit spolia multitudinis gentium, & siluit terra in conspectu eius. ³ Et exaltatum & eleuatum est cor eius. ⁴ Et congregauit exercitū fortem valde, & obtinuit regiones gentiū et tyrannides, et fuerūt ei in tributū. ⁵ Et post hæc cecidit in lectū, & cognouit quod moritur.



Figure 3-21. Vol. V, folio 3 recto, Jan Wierix after Crispijn van den Broeck (?), *The Baptism of Christ*, frontispiece, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

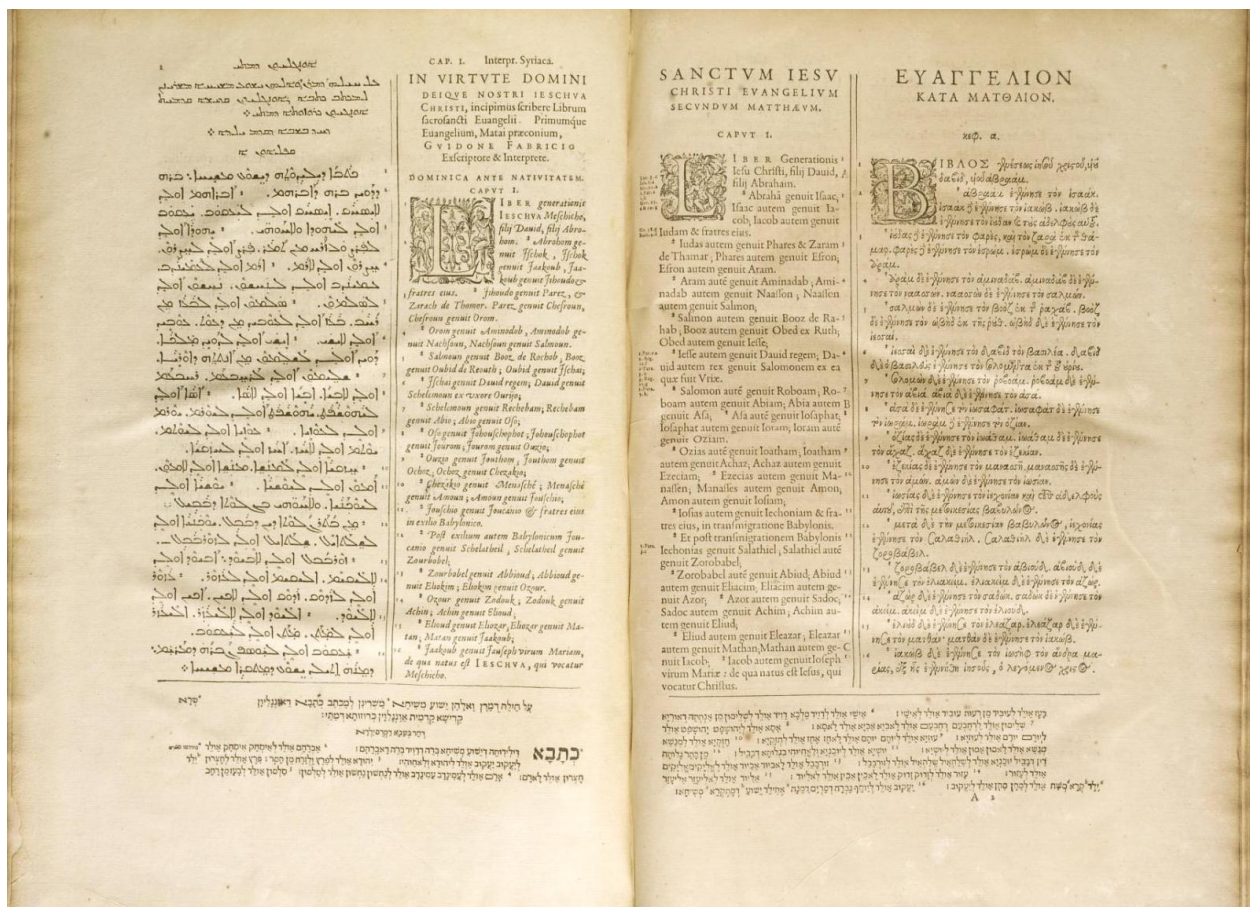


Figure 3-22. Vol. V, pp. 2-3, Matthæum, 1:1-11, Syriac, italicized Latin, Latin and Greek type with stamped initials L and B, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Vol. V, pp. 144-145, Mark, 1:1-11, Syriac, italicized Latin, Latin and Greek type with stamped initials M, P, I and A, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). B) Vol. V, pp. 216-217, Romans 16:12-17, Syriac, italicized Latin, Latin and Greek, with stamped initial F and arabesque banding, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). C) Vol. V, pp. 516-517, 2 PETER 1:1, Syriac, italicized Latin, Latin and Greek, with stamped initials Σ and S and arabesque banding, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). D) Vol. V, p. 567, PLANTINUS REGIUS PROTOTYPOGRAPHUS, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey

כל שבת ויום חול
 מוצאי שבת ויום חול
 מוצאי שבת ויום חול
 מוצאי שבת ויום חול
 מוצאי שבת ויום חול

Euangelium Marci Evangeliste.
Guidone Fabricio Eoderiano exscriptore et interprete.
Lectio Festi Epiphaniæ.

ciem tuam, qui diriget vi-
tuam. ² Vox clamantis in deserto, Para-
te viam Domini, & adequate semitas eius.

vinierja regis fiboudee, omnesque filij On-
riscilem: et baptizat eos in Iordanon flu-
mine, cum essent confessi peccata sua. ² Is au-
tem Iordanon amicum habuit in exi-

venit post me qui fortior me est, cuius non
sum dignus qui incumbat solvami corrigas
¹ calciamentorum. ² Ego baptizo vos in

על הילה רבין ואליהו ישיע משיחא
סברא דספר
ספרא דספר

[illegible]

CAPYT L

²Vox clamantis in deserto, Parate via Domini, rectas facite semitas eius.

^u ¹ Et erat Iohānes vestitus pilis came-

² Ego baptizavi vos aqua, ille verò baptizabit vos Spiritu sancto.

[illegible][illegible]

4 ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἰσχυρὸν βαπτίσαντες ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ κηρύσαντες
βαπτίσματα μετὰ ἰσχύος ἐν ὅσῃ αἰμασίῳ.

• ἵνα ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐκδηλώσῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν
δουλοῦν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις.

• ἰγὼ μὲν ἔαπισα ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι· αὐτὸς ᾧ βαπτίσαι
ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

[illegible]

ἀποστὰς ὡς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξ ὧς ὁ σωτὴρ ὅς μου, καὶ λαὸς
 καὶ ἡσυχία, καὶ σωτηρία τοῦ σώματος μου.
 ἀποστὰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὁ γὰρ ὁσίων ἐστιν ὁ
 πατήρ μου.
 ἀποστὰς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξ ὧς ὁ σωτὴρ ὅς μου, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλη-
 σίας, ἀποστὰς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐξ ὧς ὁ δικαστὴς ὁ πᾶσι
 καὶ καὶ σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος σου.

[illegible]

ספר שמואל א' פרק י"ג

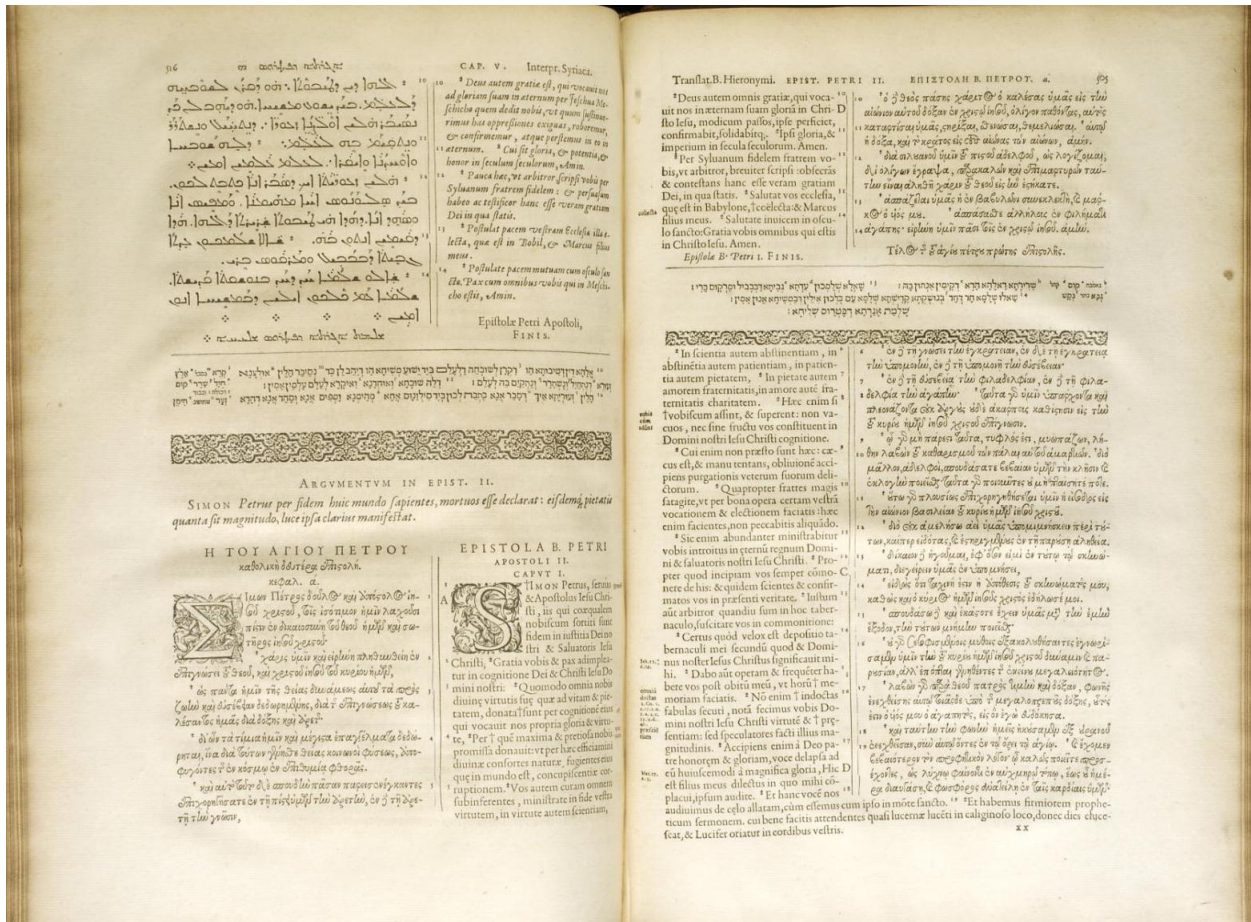
שלמת אנרתא דלות רחומיא דאתתבת מן קויתתוסואתרת
 "באידיפובא" משמשניתא מיהינתא

Ad hoc illud quod dicitur nonnulli ait. An obediens. tamen ira condemnauit. vt. in vlt.

tacitus lre fortissimè ante diaboli diabellum indicatè depurandū; imposita iudiciorum nemfaciendū tunc lre opertè ab ipso iudicio matrimoniorum iura tractandū hinc. Quinto lre virtutis confluit. Sexto lre vicino coniungitur. Sexto loco de ecarum licentia dicitur. Septimo atque octavo loco de attendendo viri, & mulieribus velando capite, & de nuptiis. Nono lre coniugatione præcipitur. Nono loco æmulatio, & que differtio dicitur. Decimo lre fuit illud iaccharat, sub eorum membrum, & corporis catigatur. Decimo, farditionis spes multis & argumentis & rationibus approbat. Vltimo, de colligenda neccitatibus. Sanctiorum nomine charitatis cura vel edificatio culis imponitur. In finitur his pauca, que ad, vtriusquidam videtur, pendens, ex superioribus aut. bene lre, nuptias, rancem, parulas, actiones.

ARGVMENTVM.

Ornithi sunt Achaici, & hi similiter ab Apollonio auctoris verbum veritatis: & ueris sunt multarum a falsis Apollonii. Quodam a Philosophia verbosa eloquentia, scilicet Inducit induci sunt. Hoc reuocat Apolloni ad veram fidem & Euangelicam sententiam scribens eis ab Epheso per Timotheum discipulum suum.



ANTVERPIÆ EXCVDEBAT CHRISTOPHORVS
PLANTINVS REGIVS PROTOTYPOGRAPHVS,



ANNO CIO. IO. LXXI. KAL. FEBRVARII.

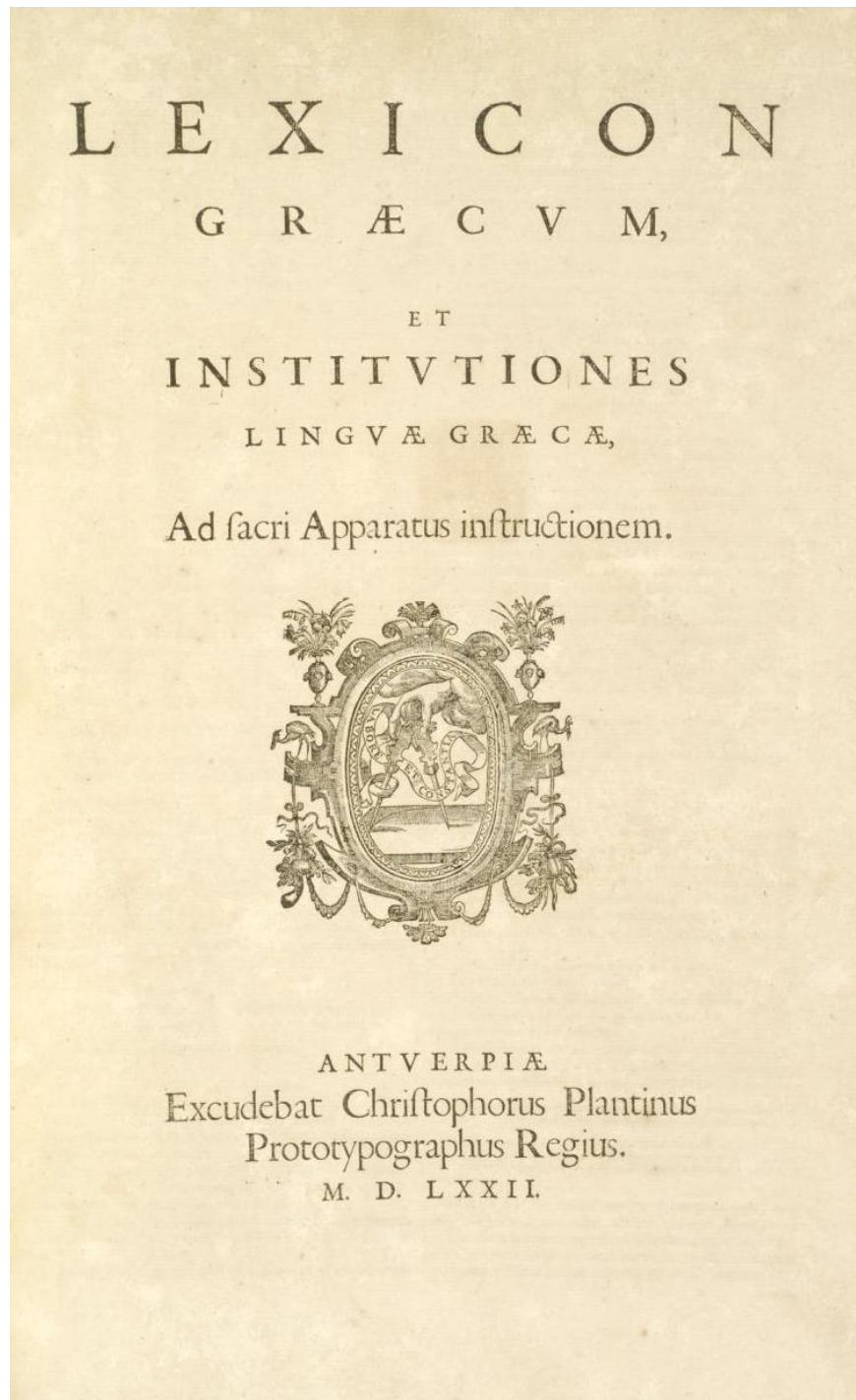
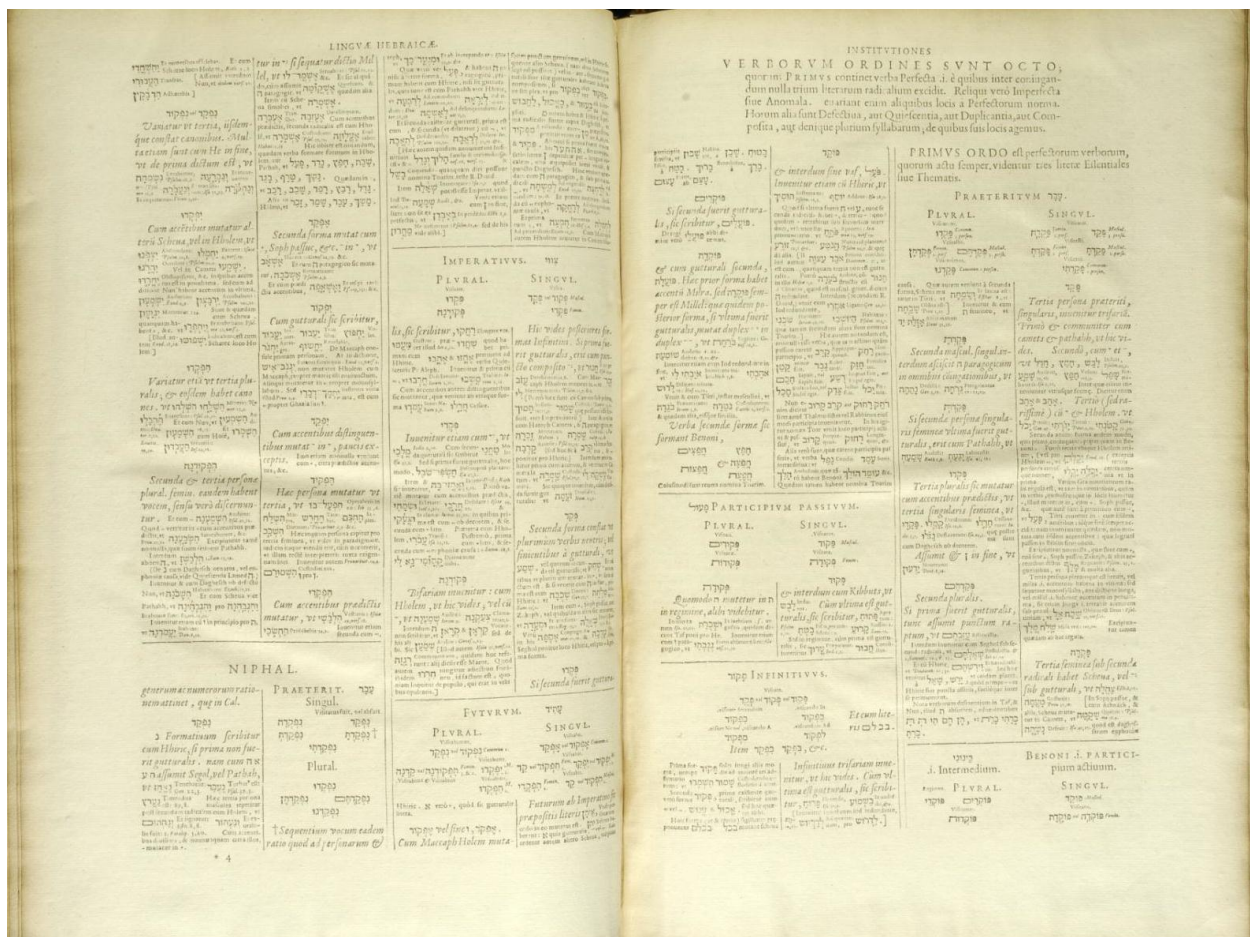


Figure 3-23. Vol. VI, folio 2 recto, LEXICON GRÆCUM, Latin and Greek type with woodcut emblem, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Vol. VI, p. 1 and facing folio recto, GRAMMATICA CHALDÆA with initial C, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). B) Vol. VI, pp. 4-3, VERBORUM ORDINES SUNT OCTO, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



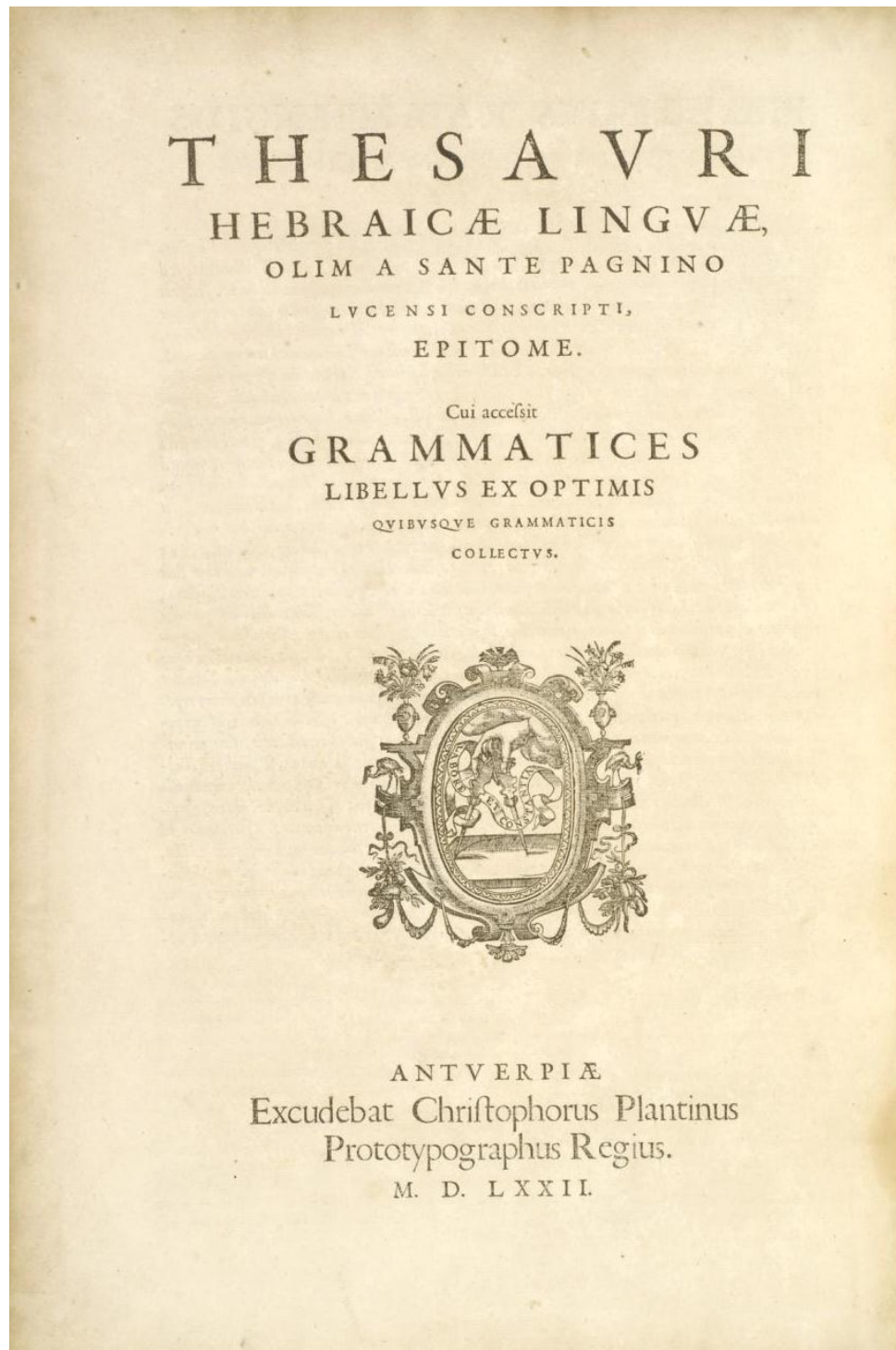


Figure 3-24. Vol. VI, folio ultima verso, THESAURI HEBRAICÆ LINGVÆ, Latin type with woodcut emblem, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Vol. VI, folio ultima verso, BENEDICTO ARIAE MONTANO, Latin type with stamped initial Q, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

A

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COMMUNES
ET FAMILIARES
HEBRAICAE LINGVAE
IDIOTISMI,

OMNIBVS BIBLIORVM INTERPRETATIONIBVS,
ac præcipuè Latinæ Santis Pagnini versioni accommodati,
atque ex variis doctorum virorum laboribus & obseruationi-
bus selecti & explicati,

BENEDICTI ARIÆ MONTANI HISPALENSIS OPERA

AD SACRORVM BIBLIORVM APPARATVM.



ANTVERPIÆ
Excudebat Christophorus Plantinus
Prototypographus Regius.
M. D. LXXII.

Figure 3-25. Vol. VII, folio 2 recto, COMMUNES ET FAMILIARES HEBRAICAE LINGVAE IDIOTISMI, Latin type with woodcut emblem, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

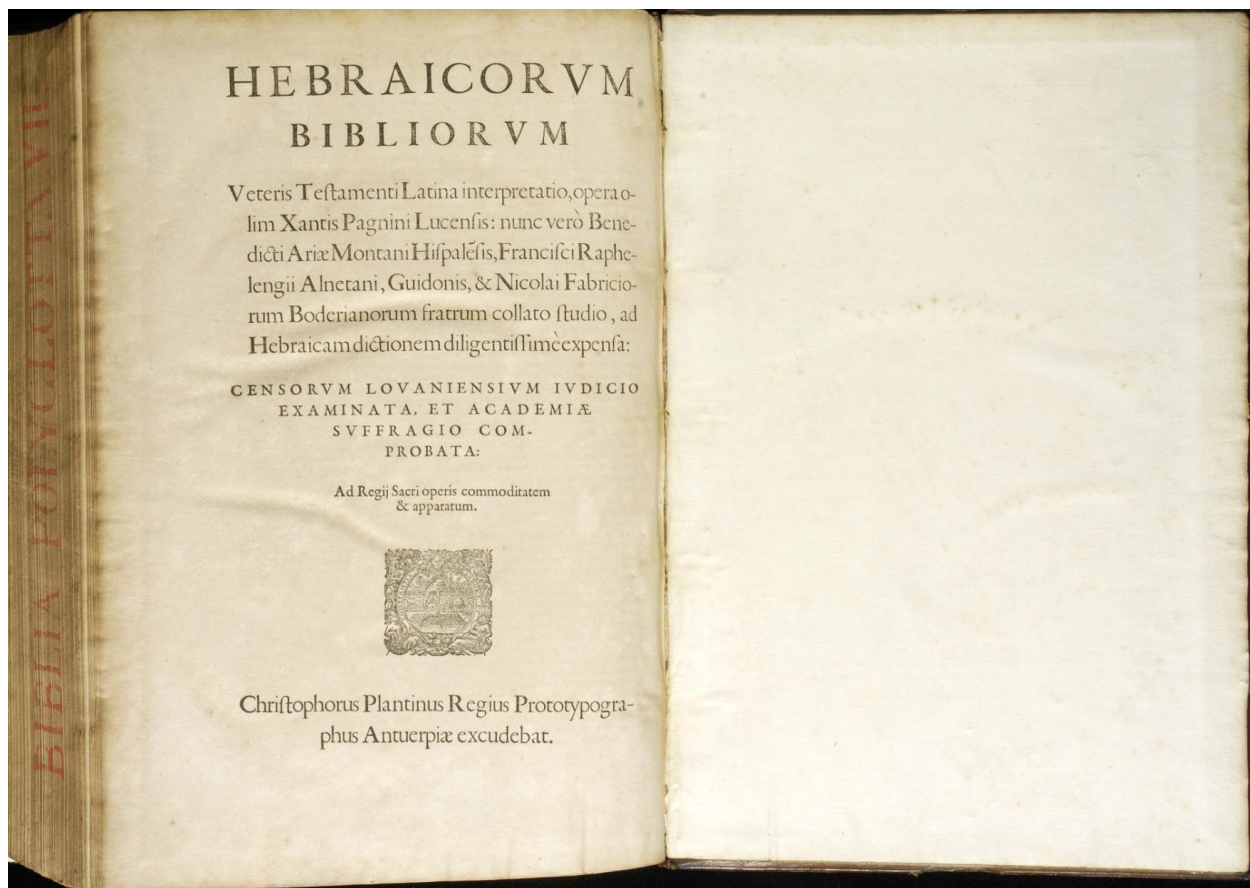
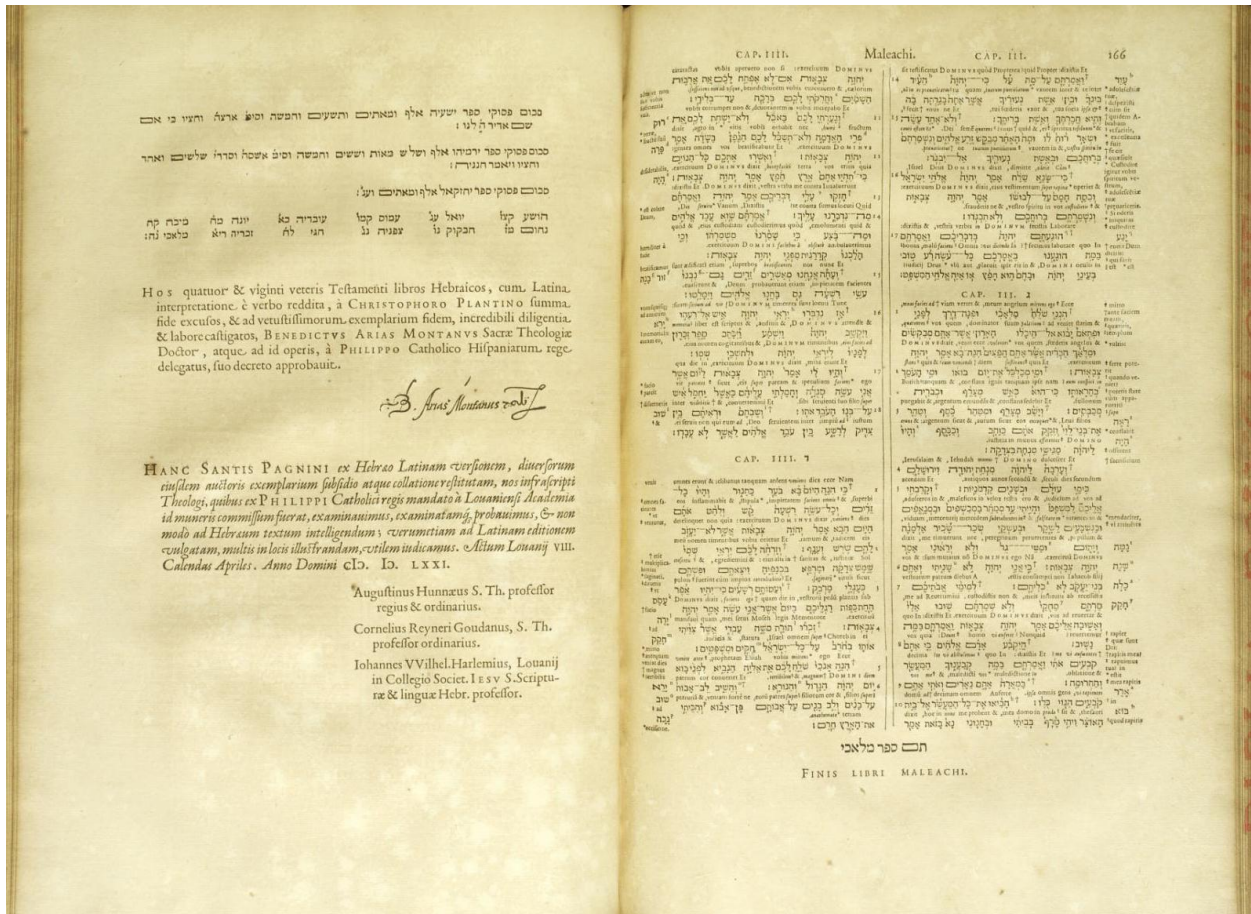
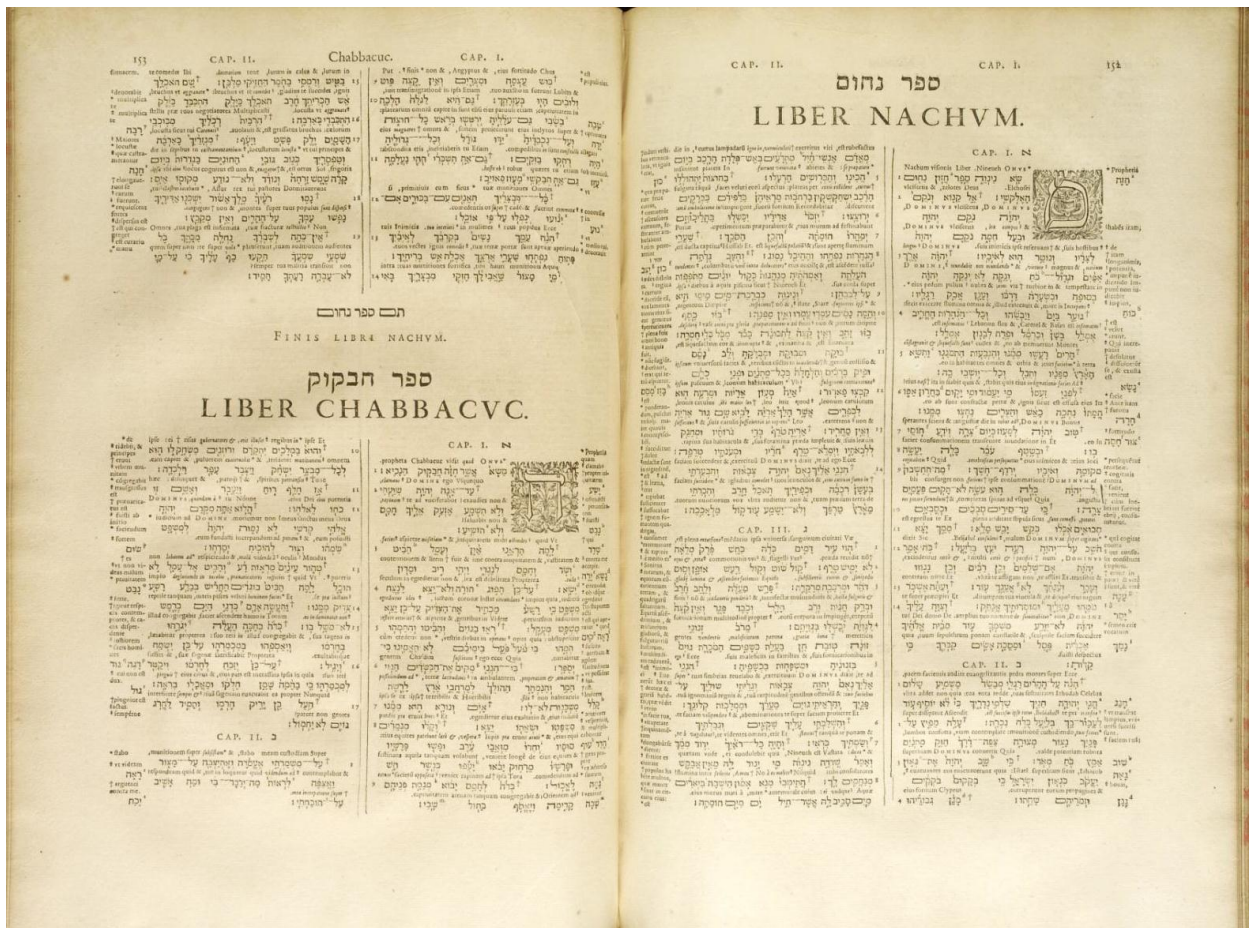


Figure 3-26. Vol. VII, folio ultima verso, HEBRAICORVM BIBLIORVM, Latin type with emblem stamp, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Vol. VII, folio ultima verso, Maleachi 3:10, Hebrew with interlinear Latin, signature stamp and Arabic monogram stamp, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). B) Vol. VII, pp. 153-152), LIBER CHABBACUC 1:1 (left) and LIBER NACHUM 1:1 (right), Hebrew with interlinear Latin and stamped initials π and ν , *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). C) Vol. VII, folio ultima 2 recto, PRÆFATIO, Latin type with stamp initial N, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.





BENEDICTI ARIAE MONTANI
HISPALENSIS IN LATINAM EX
HEBRAICA VERITATE VETERIS TESTA-
MENTI INTERPRETATIONEM,
Ad Christiana doctrina studiosos
PREFATIO.



ESSE duarum, aut plurium linguarum cognitione perditus, quotidiani expe-
rientia non docetur, idque vix spississime compertum est, fieri non posse, ut
quisvis auctoris mentem, ac sententiam facilius vlla lingua quisvis aliquant,
quam illam, qua is veluti sibi familiarissima, ac materna, aut est loquutus, aut
monumenta scriptis reliquit. Constat enim animi nostri sensus & cogitationes
ea lingua, quae tanquam nobiscum nata est, quam qualibet alia, quae non sine la-
bore comparatur, multo minori negotio, atque etiam multo aptius exprimi
posse. Idque tum natura ipsa docet, tum facilis illa, qua mihi quodam modo
ad eius potius, cui nobiscum vna eademque lingua materna communis est, quam ad illius, quocumque
terro sermone, licet alioqui nobis noto, vti opus est, colloquium allicimur. Fit autem plerumque, vti
qui artes, ac disciplinas tractant, aliena lingua vti coguntur: quod quidem ex parte scire, aut propter
eius linguae cognitionem, quam interdam habent plures nationes, aut quod his vocabulis, quae in ex-
trum artium aut disciplinarum, quas profitentur, tractatione adhiberi necesse est, in propria lingua de-
stinantur. Acque hac potissimum de causa necesse habent earum linguarum adiumentis vti, quibus
linguae artes ac disciplinae, in quibus ipsi versantur, luculenter traditae sunt ac conscriptae: adeoque, si vti
ad illas cognitionem peruenire cupit, earum linguas, quibus eas facere facilius aliqui posse putat, lu-
cultatem sibi necessario comparandam existimet. Equidem optandum sit vno omnes linguae generis
vix nam hoc modo confectas, rerumque usus, ac tandem communis illa societas, qua homines inter
se veluti quodam affinitatis vinculo coniunguntur, multo minore labore, quam nunc sit, consuevan-
t. Sed quando humani generis culpa, ac iusto Dei iudicio omnium hominum communio disem-
pta, & vicinis ille loquendi modus in varias, ac plane diuersas linguarum genera diductus est, necesse
est cum qui ex ceterorum consuetudine aliquam vtilitatem percipere cupit, eorum linguam discere
quibus cui res ei est, aut certe cum iis versari qui eius lingua probe teneant, à quibus minarum intelli-
gantur. Sed neque perinde est vtile, neque etiam tam in laude ponitur, materna lingua cum extera, qui
cum noui, vti, quam peregrinam linguam probe tenere. Cuius de causa qui rerum per cognitionem stu-
dio tenentur, continuo labore, ac diligentia peregrinis etiam linguis, quibus earum rerum, quas scire cu-
piunt, cognitio continetur, & quibus ex primis pertractare fuerunt, operam dant. Inter eas autem
disciplinas, quae omni hominum generi utiles, atque adeo necessariae sunt, quaeque adeo ab omnibus
disci debent, nullum esse, quae cum facere ac diuinae scripturae dignitate ac praestantia conferri aut com-
parari possit, in maiori, quam Regis Biblis praepositiuius, praefatione, abunde à nobis demonstratum
est. Consequens ergo est, eum, qui sacratissime illius scientiae studio tenetur, ea sibi adiumenta com-
parare, quibus ad eius faciem, tum facilem, tum etiam breuem sibi viam patefaciat. Nihil vti est
quod aut tam et ad idem facilius parare possit, quam earum linguarum cognitio, quibus sacri libri, Spi-
ritus Sancto auctore, fuerunt conscripti. Duo autem linguarum genera, diuino consilio inter cetera
potissimum delecta sunt, quibus omnis diuinarum mysteriorum ratio contineretur. quarum altera
omnium antiquissima, à Deo ipso instituta, inter primos humani generis parentes in vsum fuit. altera
verò propter paternam Noë in filium Iapheth benedictionem, cum gente ipsa suisque ceteris dis-
tributa, illam posteritas Hebraicam (quam merito primamque potius dixeris) hanc vero Graecam sine
Eliensem appellauit. quae quidem cum vel ob ceterarum nationum cum Graeca familiaritatem & co-
mercium, vel propter studium, quod in ea addicenda à plerisque adhibuit, & compluribus nationi-
bus nota, & familiaris fuerit, apertissima & maxime comoda fuit, qua diuina mysteria plerisque nationi-
bus pateficerent. Inter omnes vero Hebraica lingua primatum quandam obtinuit, & in quam ve-
luti sacra arce collocata est. idque tum propter venerandam illam antiquitatem: est enim mundo ipso
coetanea: tum propter primorum humani generis parentum, qui ea vti sunt, dignitatem, tum verò mi-
ximè (vnde testis est Moyses) quod Deum ipsum primum habeat auctorem, & qua potissimum ac nobilissi-
mae partes vniuersi huius orbis, qui conspici potest ac videri, sua quaeque nomina primum sunt sortiti,
qualia sunt: caelum, terra, mare, lux, nox. quae etiam hominibus ipsis imposita nomina continent,
quorum significatio totidem elementis, eodemque singularum partium pondere constants in aliis linguis
non est. His & illud accedit, Deum ipsum post iugum illam linguarum diuisionem, praestare &
sanctitate maxime conspicuos viros hac lingua allocutum esse, quod vel ex nominibus ab ipso aut im-
positis, aut mutatis constat: cuius generis sunt haec: Abram in Abraham, Sarai in Sara, Iacob in Israel,
atque

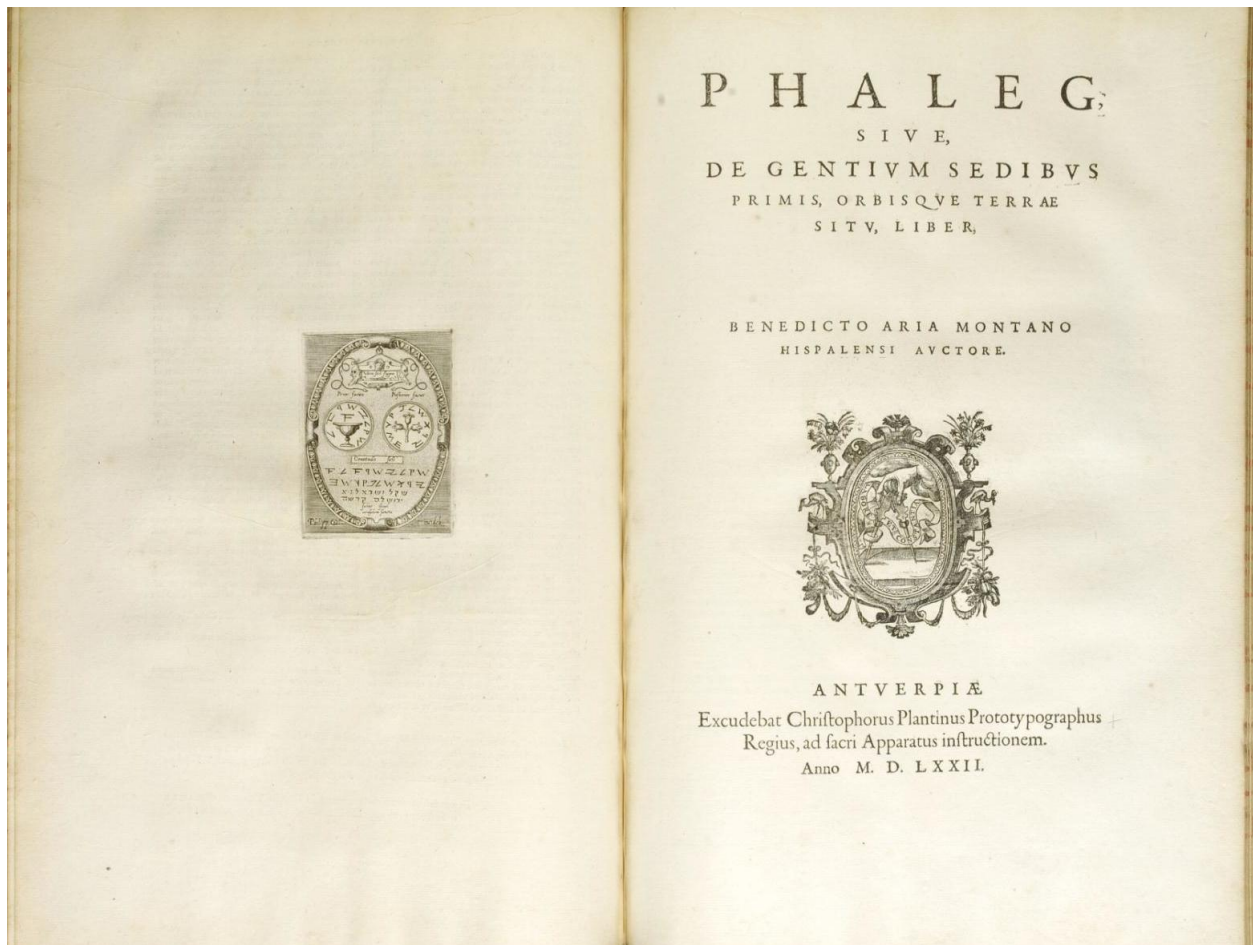


Figure 3-27. Vol. VIII, pp. 24-25, PHALEG, Latin type with woodcut *shekel*, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

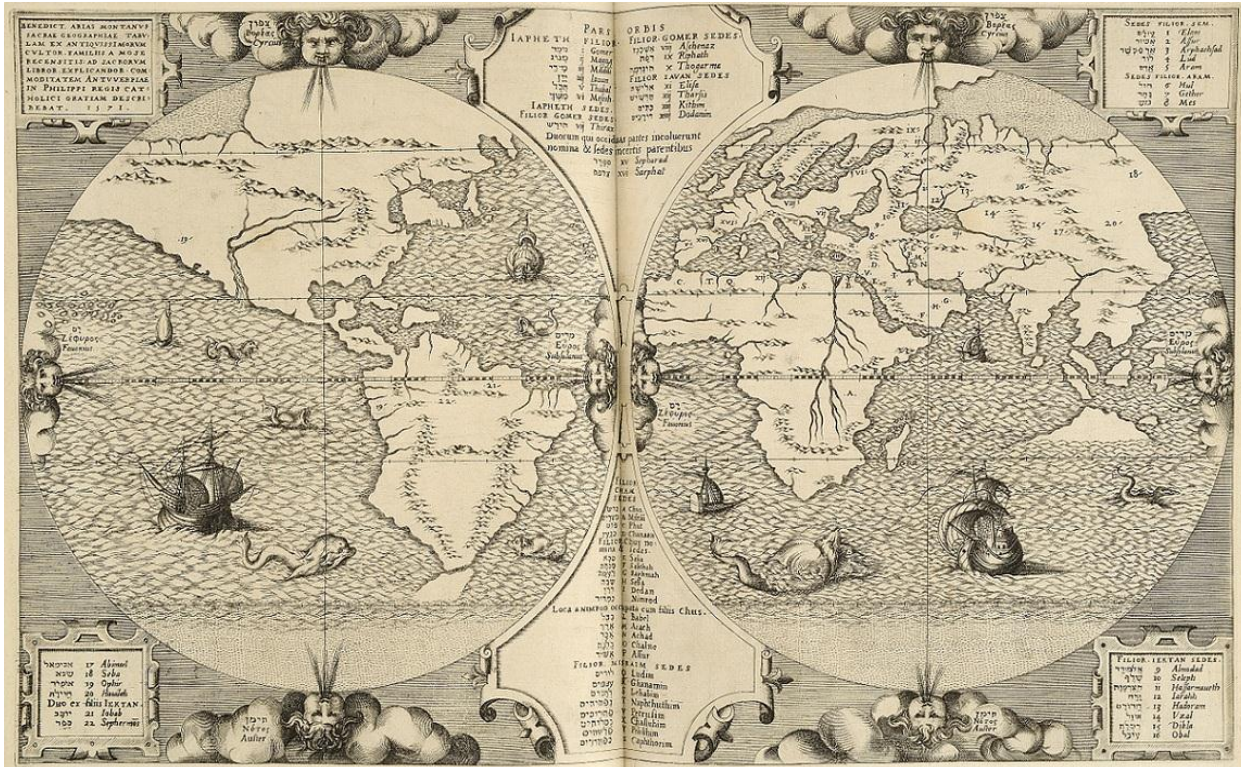
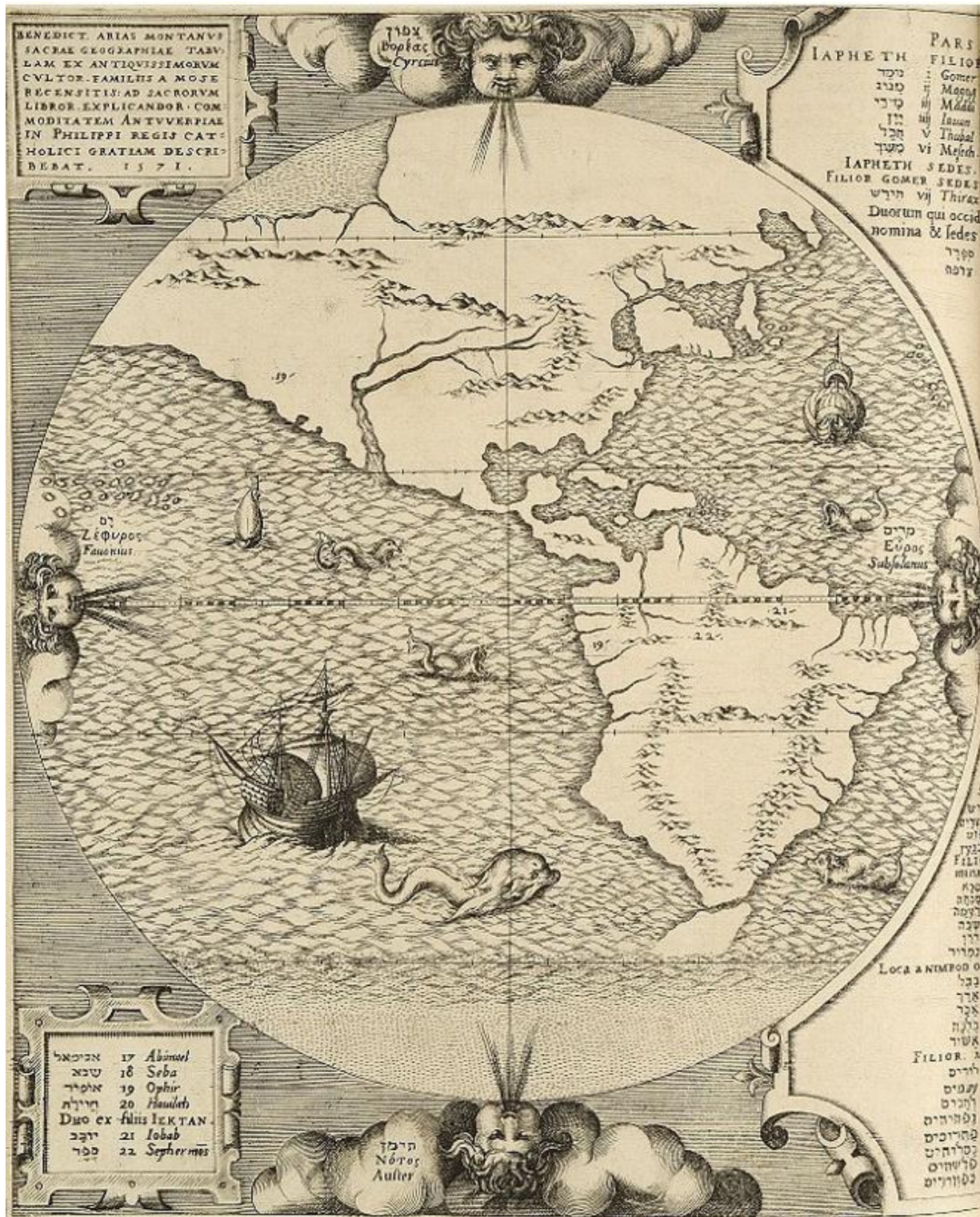
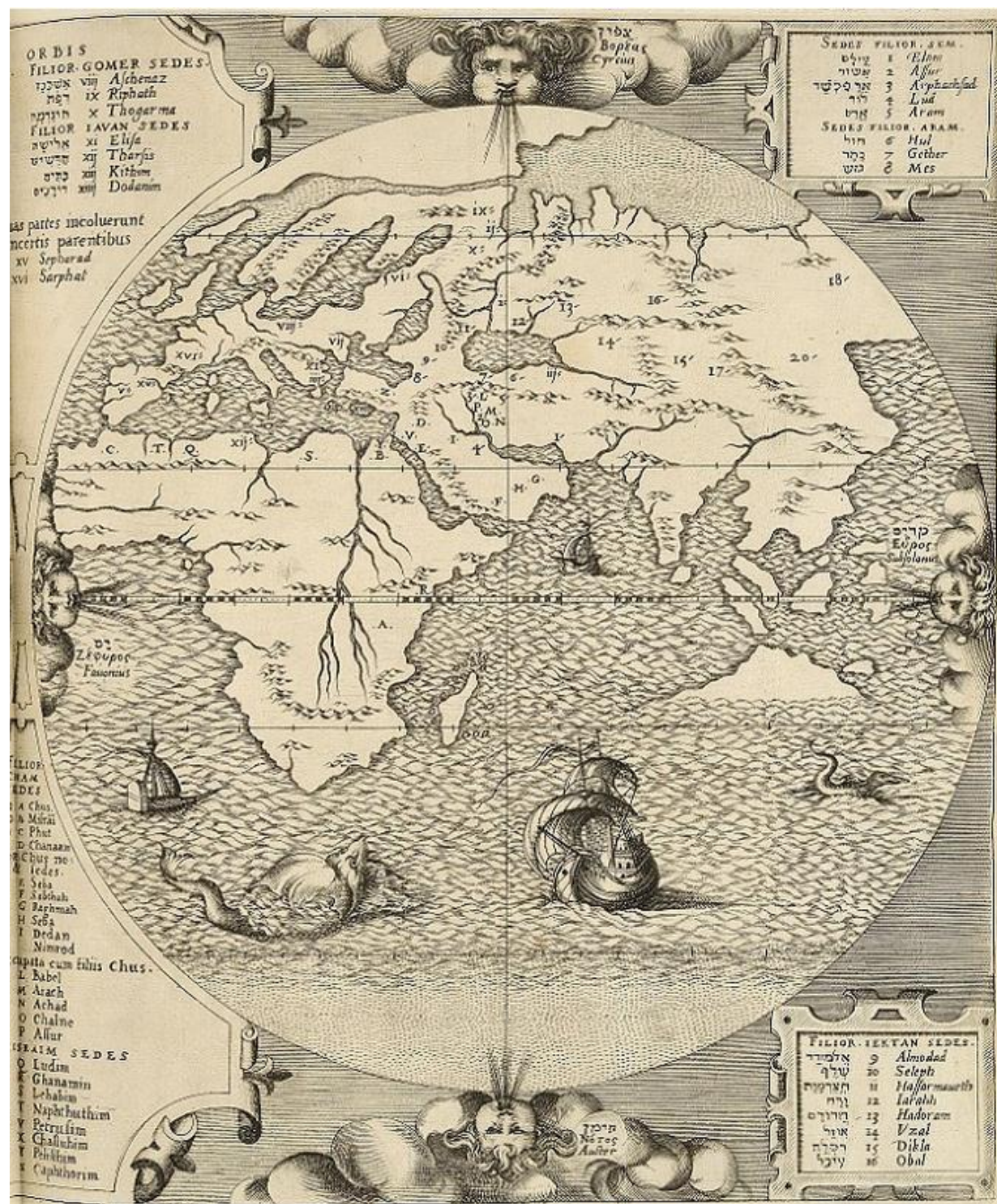


Figure 3-28. Vol. VIII, pp. 2-3, Pieter Huys(?) after Benito Arias Montano, *Tabula orbis*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Detail, western hemisphere, *Tabula orbis*. B), detail, eastern hemisphere, *Tabula orbis*. C) Vol. VIII, p. 1, ORBIS TABULA. BEN. ARIA MONTANO. AUCTORE, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. D) Girolamo Ruscelli, ORBIS DESCRIPTO, Ptolemy, *La Geographia* (Venice, 1561). Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. Box Case Y642.P894 E) Detail, top center cartouche, *Tabula orbis*. F) Detail, Spain, *Tabula orbis*. G) Detail, dedicatory cartouche *Tabula orbis*. H) Vol. VIII, p. 3, BENEDICTI ARIAE MONTANI, CHOROGRAPHIA LIBER, Latin type with historiated initial F, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572). Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



A

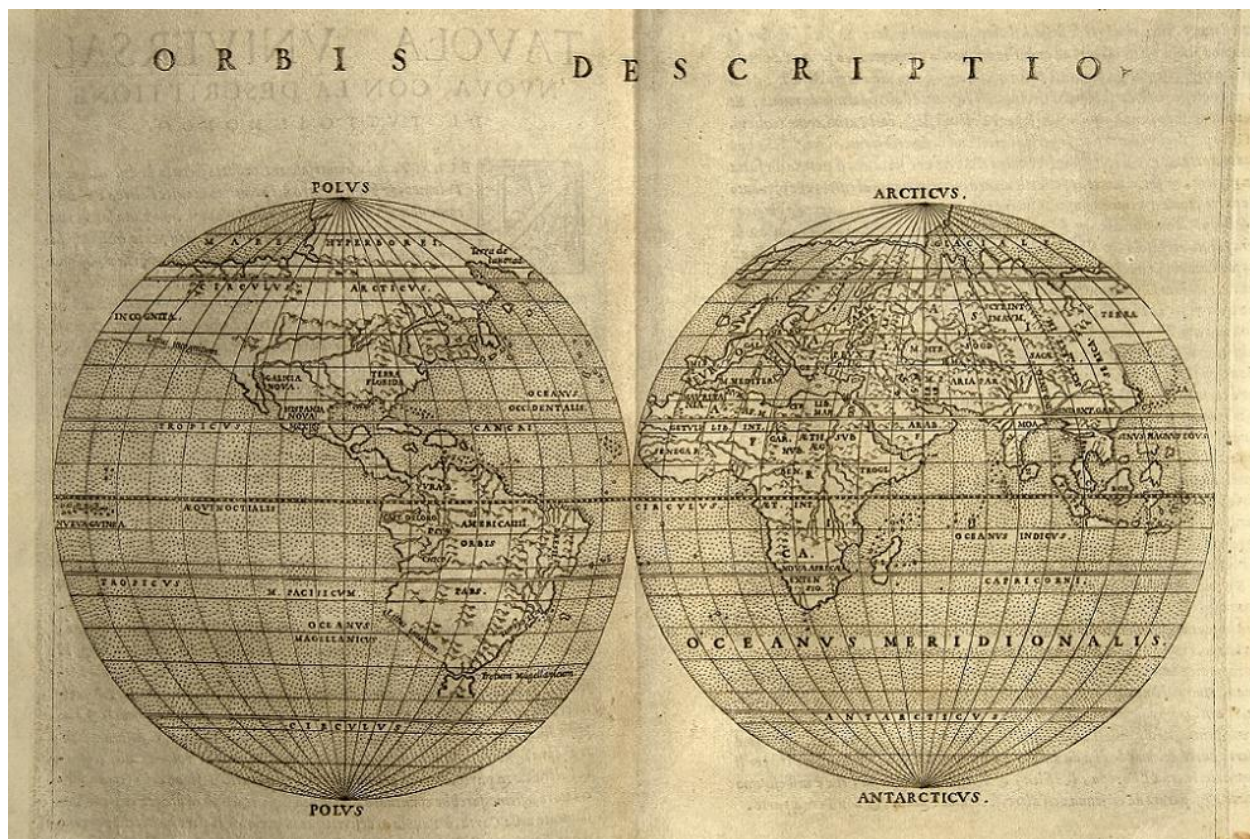


B

ORBIS TABVLA.

BEN. ARIA MONTANO.

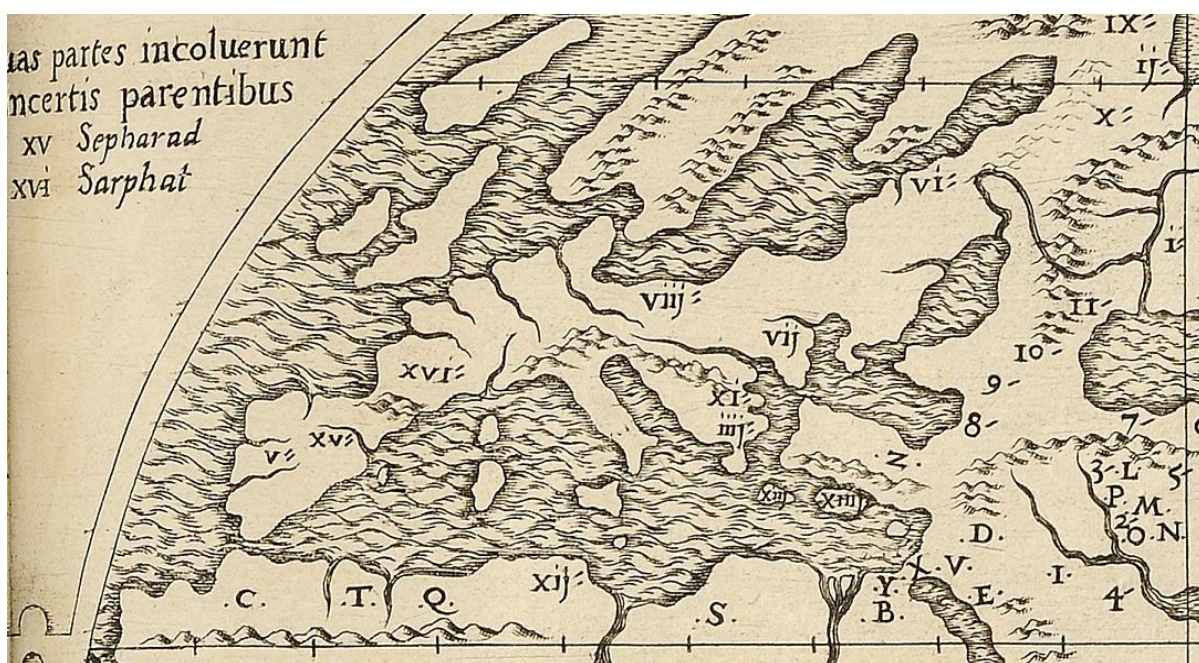
AVCTORE.



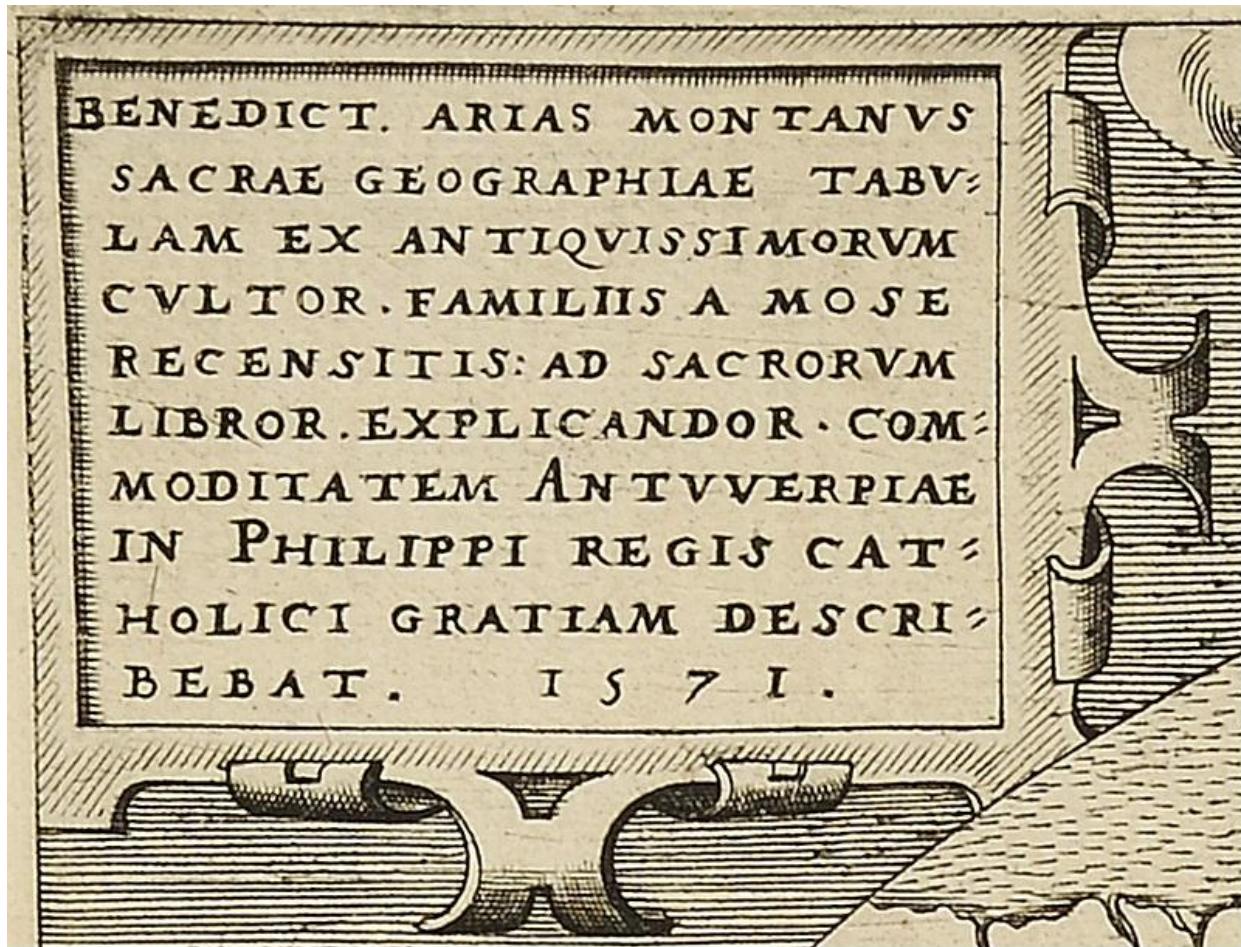
D



E



F



G

BENEDICTI ARIAE MONTANI HISPALENSIS FAMILIÆ, SIVE DE

CHOROGRAPHIA LIBER.

DE FILIIS ORIENTIS.

CAP. I.

Gen. 11. 31.



Nom. 11. 31.
Deut. 1. 1.

Gen. 11. 31.
Gen. 14. 1.

Isa. 1. 5.
Jer. 48. 4.
Num. 31. 1.

Deut. 32. 49.
Isa. 14. 1.
Deut. 34. 4.

Nom. 11. 31.
Num. 11. 31.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

Nom. 11. 31.
Isa. 11. 1.

EX CHALDÆORVM natione
duæ gentes oriundæ mediterranea
loca occupare post diluvium mul-
tis annis, Abrahamo adhuc inter vi-
uos agente, harum principes duo
fuere Moab & Amon, Lot patre ex
duabus filiabus suscepti. Atq. Moab

sedes sibi optavit his cõclusas finibus, ab Ortu magnis
& perpetuis montibus Horri, ab Occasu ingenti lacu, quod
Mare salis dicitur, & Iordanis parte, à dextera verò illu-
stri flumine Arnon, qui Amorrhæos à regione diuidit,
ab Aquilone autem funiculo à Iaboc fluuiio, vsque ad
montes Pitiga, siue Phasga. in his amnes sunt, Iazer
torrens, Nimrim ex montibus Phasga deductus, item
Dibon, & ille totius regionis terminus Arnon, ab extre-
mis montis Horrorum, ex rupe sui nominis defluens.
Lacus ipse, quo ab occasu parte regio ambitur, terra
olim fuit amena & fertilis, multis bituminis minerali-
bus frequens, Iordanis fluminis deriuationibus tota ir-
rigata, quæ paulò ante Moab & Amonis ortu, ob nesa-
ria incolarum scelera calo tacta, atque omnis euerfa, &
perpetuæ detestationis monumento aquis submersa,
vna, seruadi Lot gratia, excepta vrbe, cui ex breuitate no-
men est factu Tloghar, siue Segor. Cateru quatuor ma-
gnæ vrbes cũ vicis & villis in ipsa euerfione periire, Se-
dò, Ghamora, Adamah, & Tieboim. Locus omnis ante
subuerfionẽ, vallis Hasidim dictus postea verò Mare sa-
lis, & Mare mortuũ, & Oriẽtale, & Sodomiticum ma-
re. Lacui ab ortu montes imminet, in quos Moab ter-
mini definunt. Mòtes regio habet præcipuẽ insignes,
ab ortu Phegor, ab Aquilone Luith, ab occasu Abarim,
qui idem Nabo montes, & Hermò, & Seny fecundum
Iordanis fluent. Sed in his Abarim præcipuẽ insignis
propter Cananæ regionis subiacentis prospectum, &
Mòis ibidem vita defuncti memoriam, qui nõ procul
in valle, sepulchro nunquã amplius ab hominibus no-
tato, diuina providẽtia cõditus est. Est & alia illustis val-
lis in regione Moab in capite Phasga mòtis, qui deser-
tum (pectat, Bamoth dicta, clara statione quondam Is-
raelitarum, & victoria de Amorrhæis parva transitum in
promissam terram prohibetibus rege Balaac. Caterum
regio ferè omnis campestris, multis & frequentibus vr-
bibus olim per Moabitas culta, quarum illæ præcipuẽ
commemorantur: Arnon secundum flumen sui nomi-
nis sita, Moab latericio opere constructa, & paulò à flu-
mine distantior, Gallim, Ar regia, gigantum olim Emim
sedes, robustorum hominum de stirpe Enachim, Dibò,
Nophe, Medabah, & Nabo, Arero, Araroth, & Roth,
Sopha, Iaghaizer, Iebghaah, Bethnemrah, & Beth-
Aram, & Gemina Horò, superior in monte, inferior in
valle sitæ, vtraque simul Horonaim dicta à Luith mon-
tibus non ita longè distantes, Hesebon, & Elghale, Ki-
riathaim, Bagdal, Meghon & Sabana, Heloniafa, ab
aquarũ horore dicta, Meipahhadh duobus insignis pal-
metis, Diblahaim, Bethgamul, & Bethmaò, Kirith &
extrema Bosfor siue Bosrah, & Nimrim iuxta fluenta:
Sithim locus & oppidum, æternum Israelitaru incestus,
& vltionis diuinæ monumentum à Phinea sacerdote
iram deprecante diuinam consecratum, ibidem etiam
turpissimi nominis, & falsi dei fanum Baghal Peghor.
Terra omnis ab initio fertilis est, sed quæ Iaghaizer pars
est versus Galaad, pastionibus abudat optimis: & peco-
ri, armentisque alendis opportunissima habetur. Huius
partes insignia oppida, Dibon, Iazer, Atharoth, Nem-

ra, quam Beth-Nemra diximus, Hesebon, Elghale, Sa-
bain, Nebo & Beon: sed Sabama, Elghale, Kiriathaim,
Baghal Meghon, & Sabama vineis generosis instru-
tæ. Viri ipsi robusti, qui gigantes de stirpe Enachim par-
tim occisos, partim loco pullos eiecerunt, Deo iudice &
vindice. Circumcisi omnes ex imitatione filioru Abra-
hæ. Veruntamen Deum Abraham non colebant, sed
alia ementita numina, quoru præcipuum Chamos fuit.
Atque hæc olim Moabitæ loca tenuerunt. Sed ab A-
morrhæis postea Iordanẽ prætergressis, Schò rege oppu-
gnati & victi, magna & fertili agroru & vrbu parte ce-
dere coacti sunt: inter quas fuit Hesebã, cum omni per-
petua occidẽtali plaga vsque ad Arnon. Sed is non mul-
tò post Israelitis in Isalam cum exercitu infesto occur-
rens, & vita & regno fuit priuatus.

AMON.

CAP. II.

PROXIMVS fratri Moab confedit minor natu
Amon, terraq. occupavit à mòtibus Luith vsque ad
mòtes Bassan, ab ortu mòtes perpetuos, Acrabim dictos,
cõtra terrã Emim, ab occasu verò Amorrhæum habuit.
Ager ipse vallis inter montes sitæ vsum præbet amœ-
nissimæ & fertilissimæ: olim cultus fuit à ferocibus, &
proceræ stature hominibus, quos Ammonitæ Zom-
zomim vocabant. Sed inductis Amonitis, illa natio ex
diuini iudicii sententia periit. Fluuium habent insignẽ
Iaboc, qui ab ortu ex montium inflexu exortus, & com-
munem cum Moabitis terminum Aroer vrbe præ-
terfluens, ab occasu in Iordanem influit. Vrbibus fre-
quens regio in plano, & in monte constructis. In his an-
tiquissimæ commemorantur, Rabath à populi & loci
magnitudine dicta, in qua miræ magnitudinis lectus
ferreus mōstrabatur, quo Og rex Basan magnæ stature
vir iacuisse perhibetur, & Hesebon in monte sita in
Moabitaru confinij, & Hai, & Mennith, inter quam &
Aroer viginti vrbes fuere, quarum nomina ad nos non
peruenerunt, præter vnam Abel, vinearu copia insignẽ.
Hi etiam, vt Moabitæ, circũdebantur: sed Deum ve-
rum non colebant. Melcho enim deorum nuntium, &
Chamos sibi præcipuos consecrauerant.

DE FILIIS ORIENTIS.

CAP. III. FILII CETVRÆ.

DVÆ præter Saram ex Abraham populorum ma-
tres fuerunt, Hagar Aegyptia, quæ viuente Sara
filium Ismael suscepit, & Cetura vxor, quæ defunctæ
vita Saræ successit in familiarem curam. Harum filijs à
promissa sibi Cananæorum terra exceptis, orientalem
plagam pastionibus opportunissimam occupandam &
frequentandã ostendit pater, muneribus ad vitæ vsum,
atque ad pecuariam comparandam rem abundè satis
distributis. Fuere autem Abrahæ ex Cetura filij, Zam-
ram, Iechsam, Madan, & Madiam, Iesboc, & Sue. Hi
deserta loca inter se diuisa, inter Moabitas, Amonitas,
& Chaldæos, ac Persas pastionibus peragrarunt, occu-
paruntque suis, Ortum versus, vnde Orientales, & filij
Orientis perpetuò dicti ab Aram Naharaim ad Persi-
cum vsque sinum, & mare Suph. Sed Madiam ea quæ
versus Austrum sunt, occupavit vsque ad Horeb mon-
tem, atque occupatos agros inter filiorum familias
sex partitus est, Ephra primũ, & Henoc, Ephra, He-
noch, Abida, & Eldaa, vt atatis, ita etiam locorum or-
dine constituto, aquam ex puteis hauriunt. Huic pro-
xima Aquilonem versus loca tenuit Iecfan cum Saba,
& Dadan duabus filiorum familijs: quarum altera
tribus liberis profeminata sobole latissimè locis propa-
gata

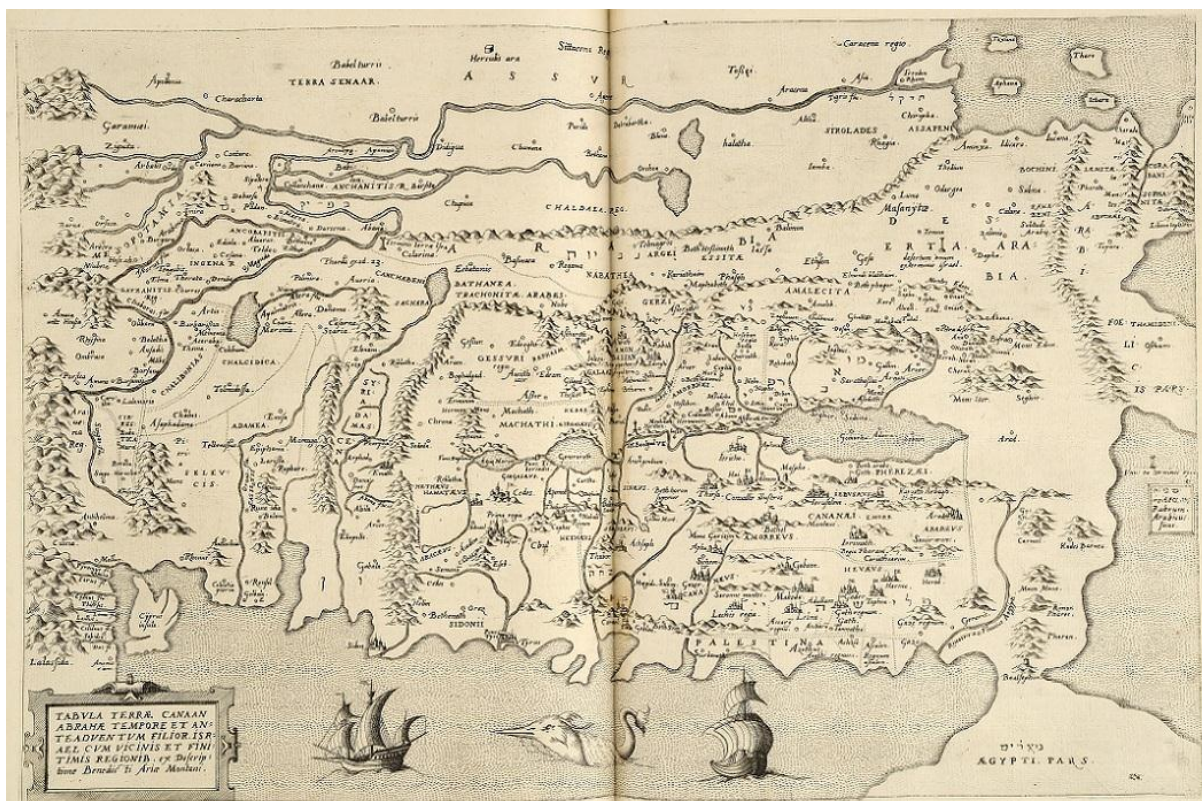


Figure 3-29. Vol. VIII, pp. 9-10, Pieter Huys(?) after Benito Arias Montano, *Tabula terrae Canaan*, map, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

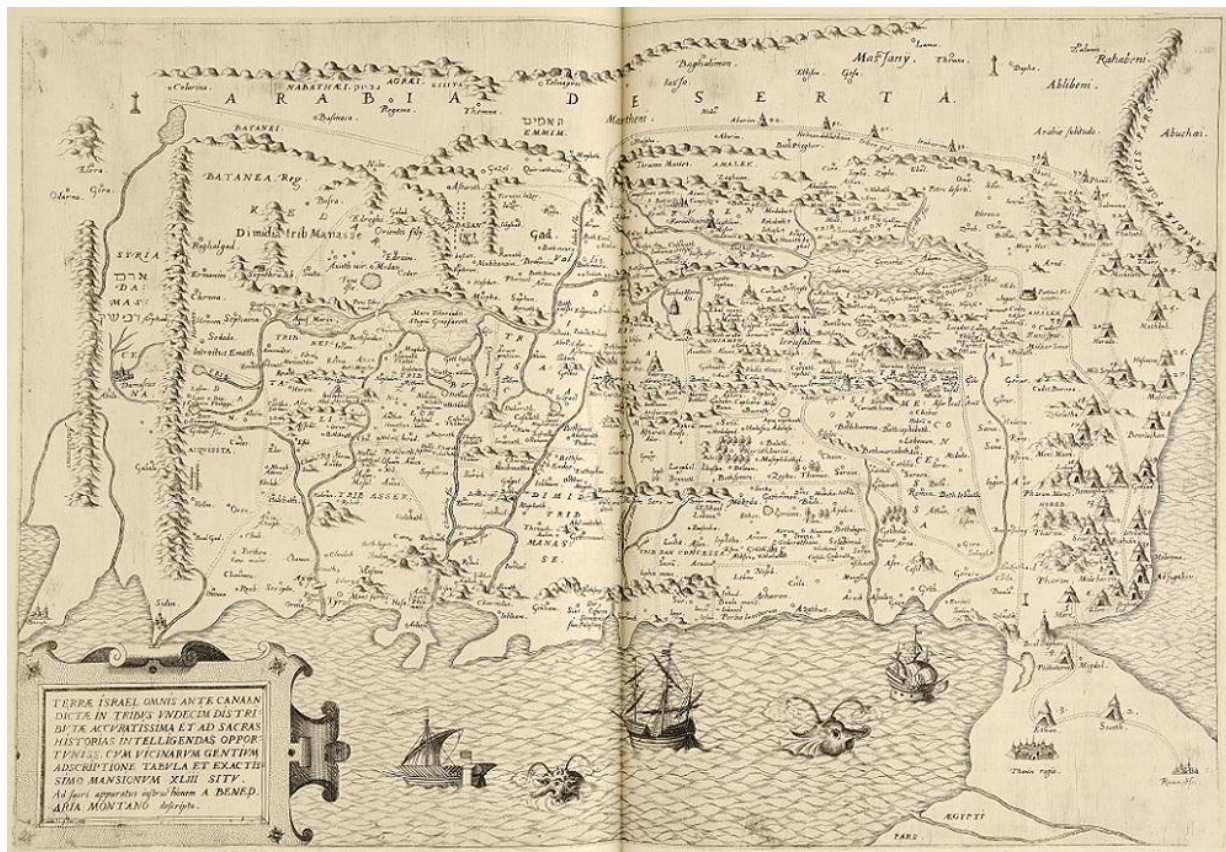


Figure 3-30. Vol. VIII, pp. 14-15, Pieter Huys(?) after Benito Arias Montano, *Terrae Israel omnis ante Canaan*, map, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

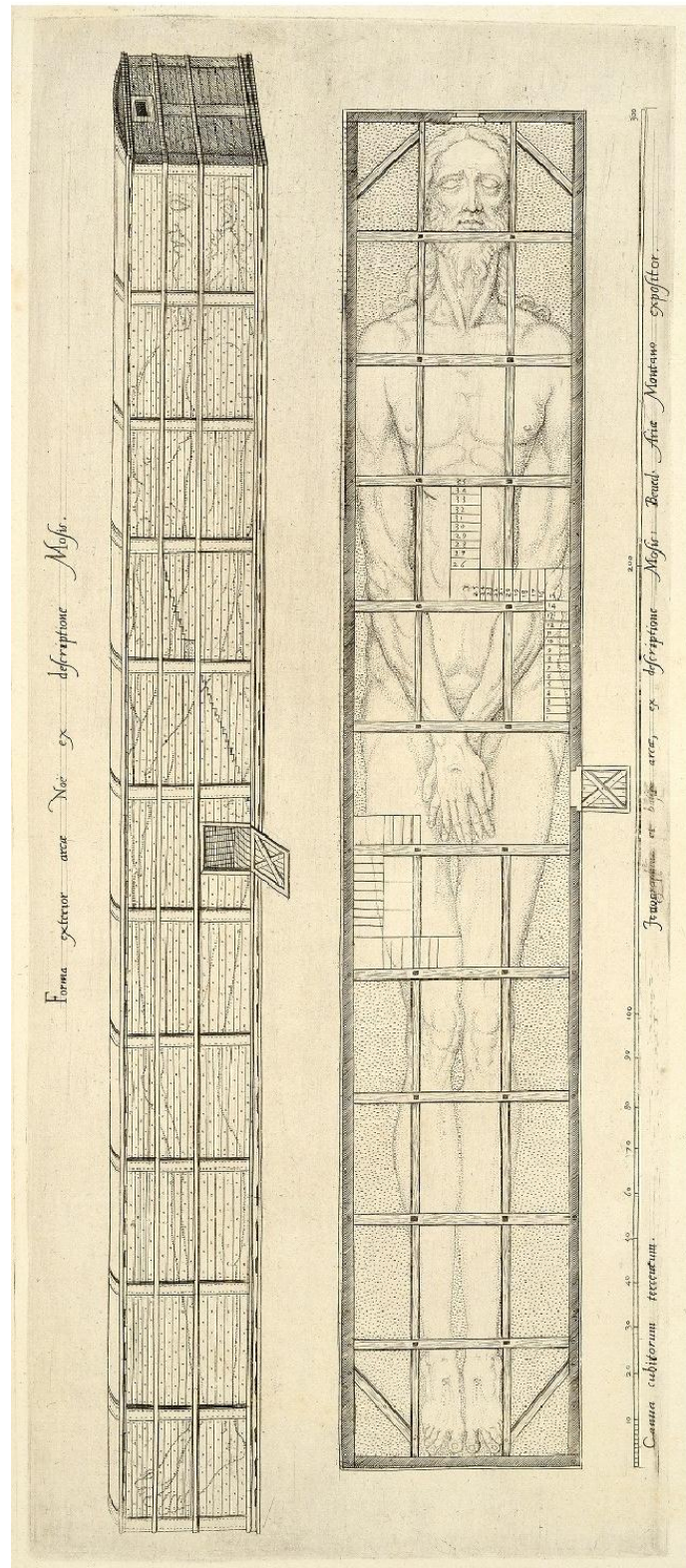


Figure 3-31. Vol. VIII, p. 22, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Arca Noe*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

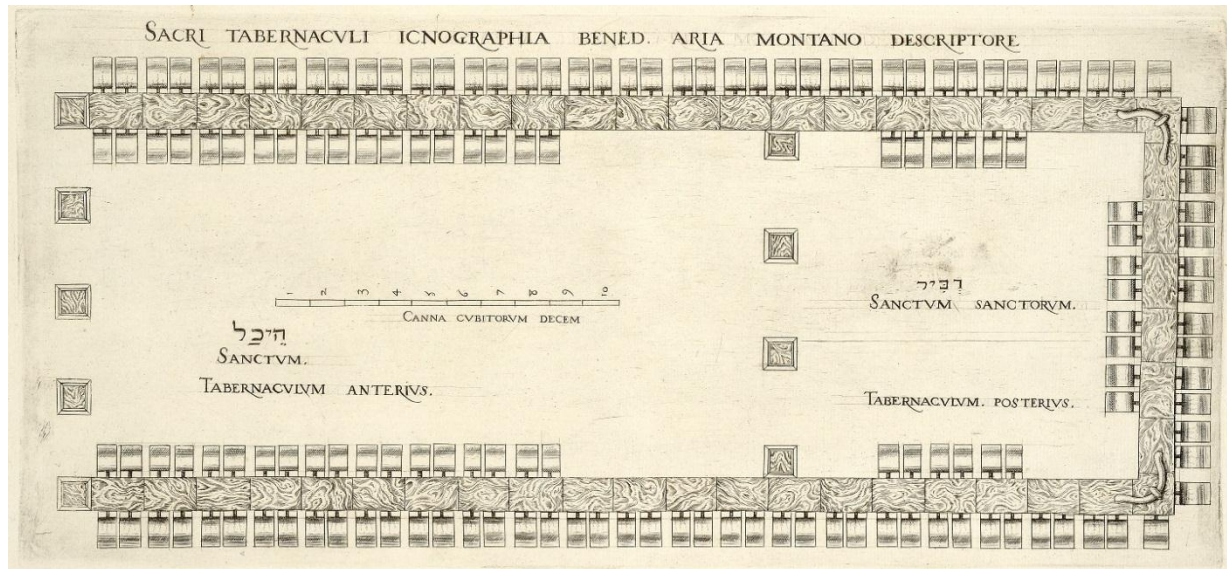


Figure 3-32. Vol. VIII, p. 24, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculum anterius*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

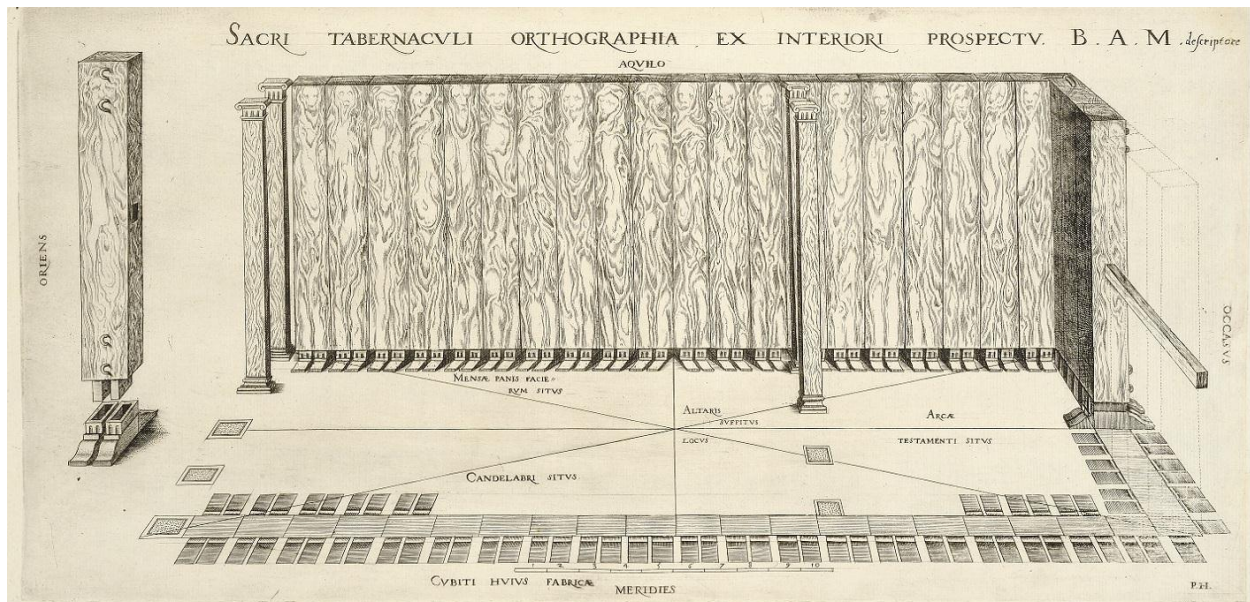
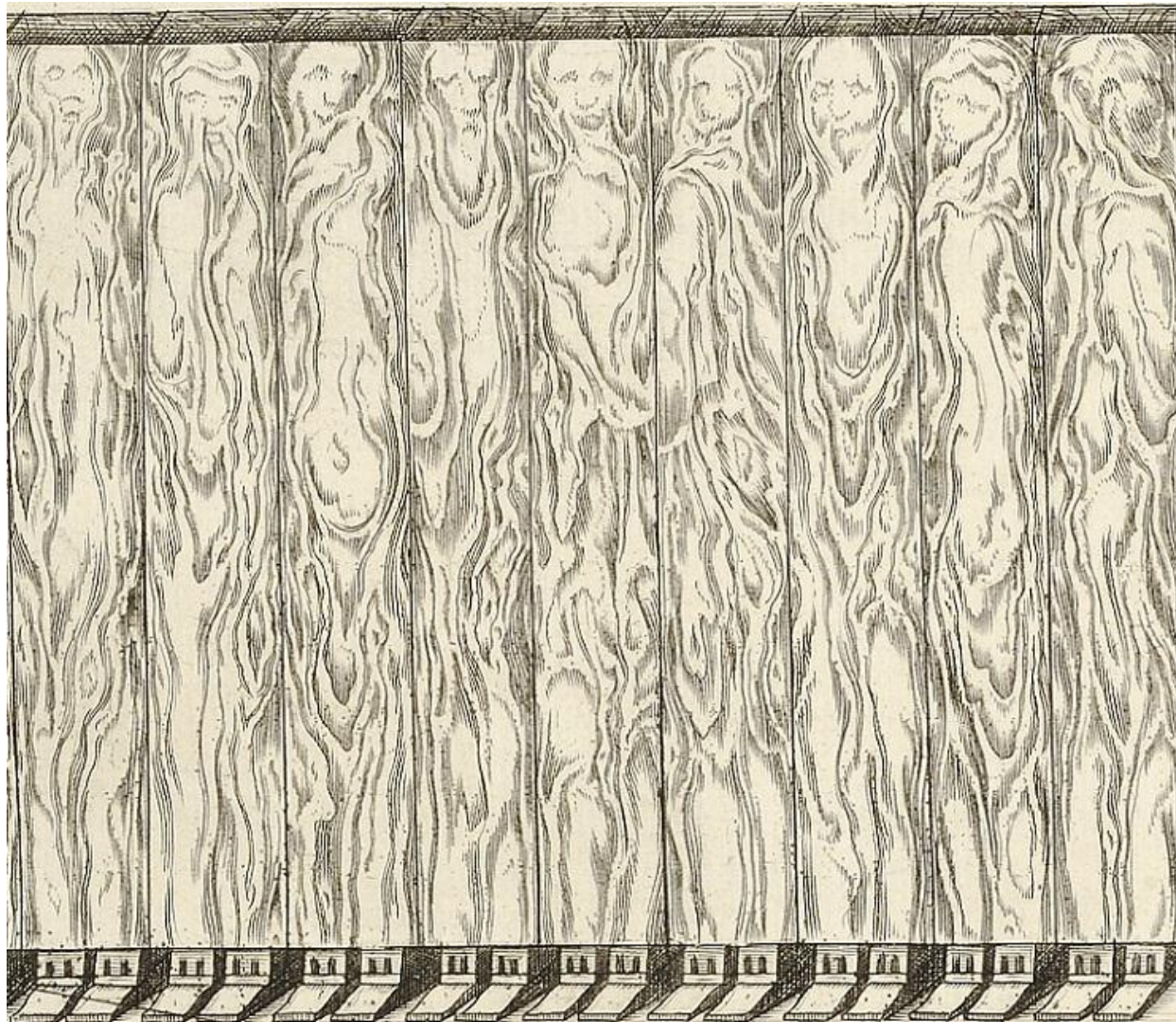


Figure 3-33. Vol. VIII, p. 26, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculi interiori*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Detail, *Tabernaculi interiori*. Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



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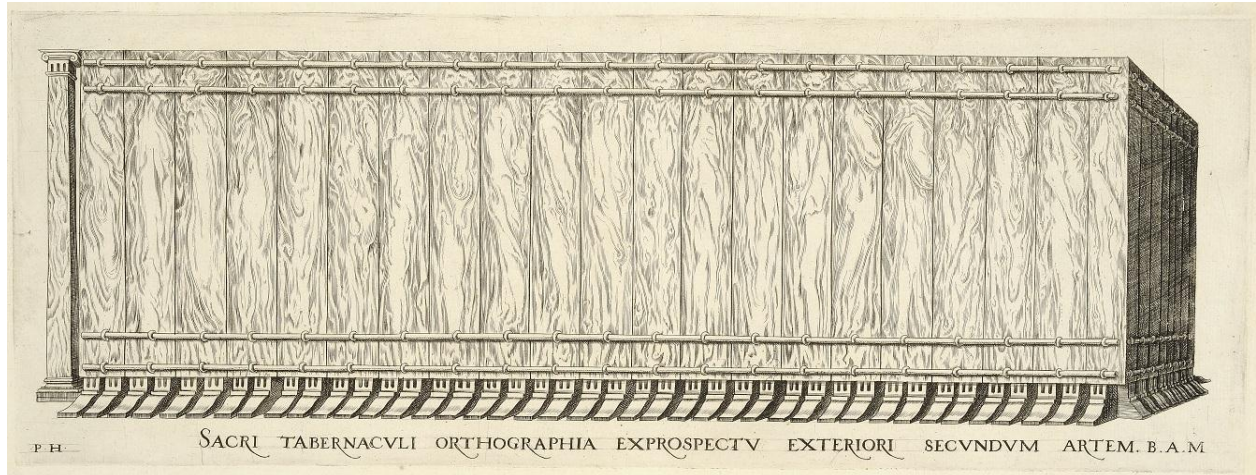
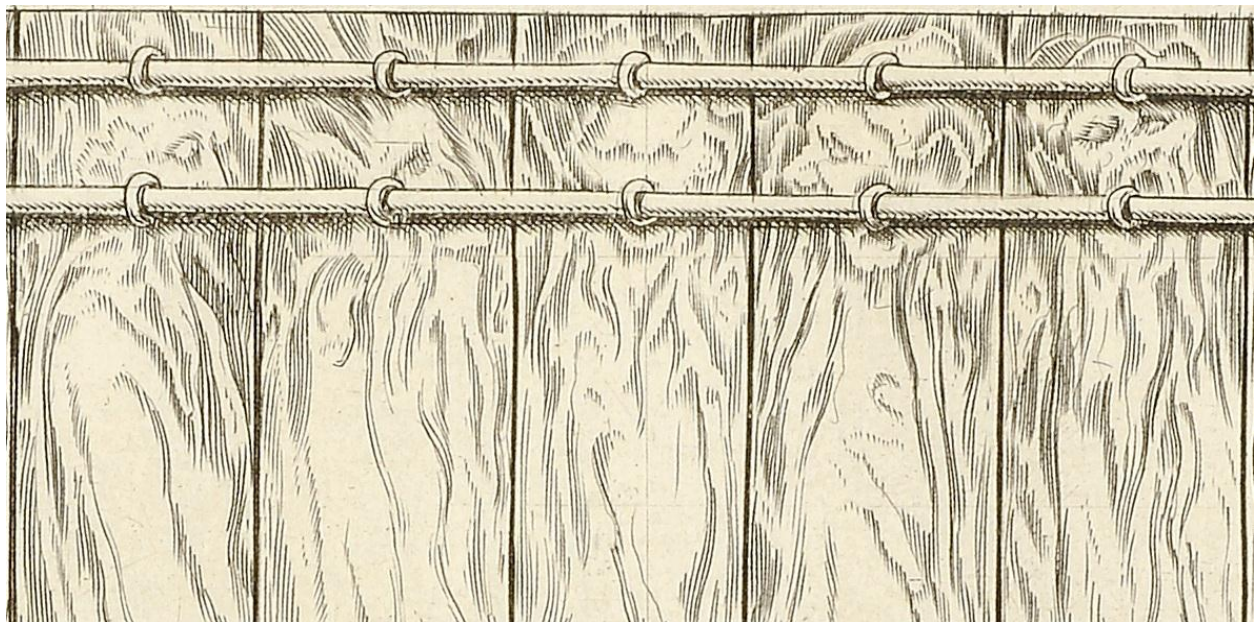


Figure 3-34. Vol. VIII, p. 28, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculi exteriori*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Detail, *Tabernaculi exteriori*. Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



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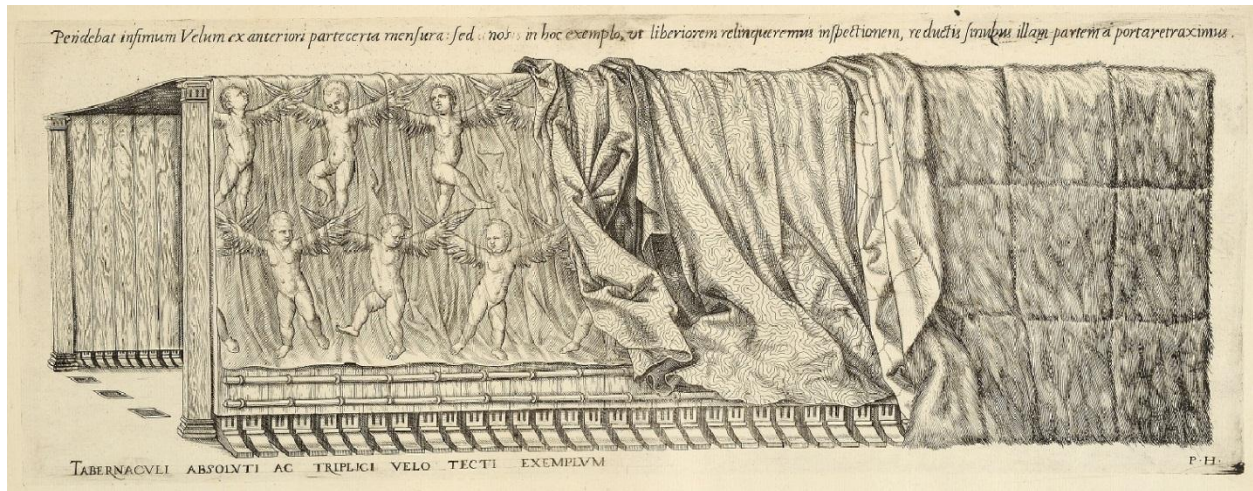
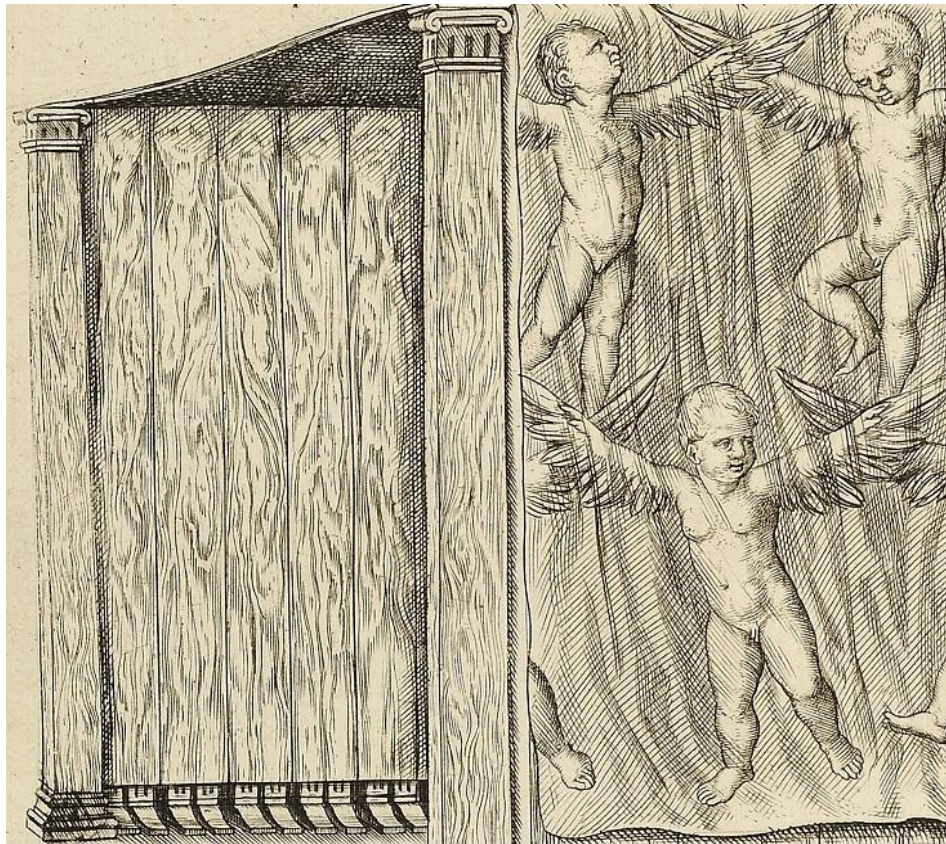


Figure 3-35. Vol. VIII, p. 30, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Tabernaculi absoluti*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) Detail, *Tabernaculi absoluti*. Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. B) *ERECTUM TABERNACULUM*, *Biblia Sebastiano* (Basel, 1554), 327-330. Photo Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. Case folio C23.48554.



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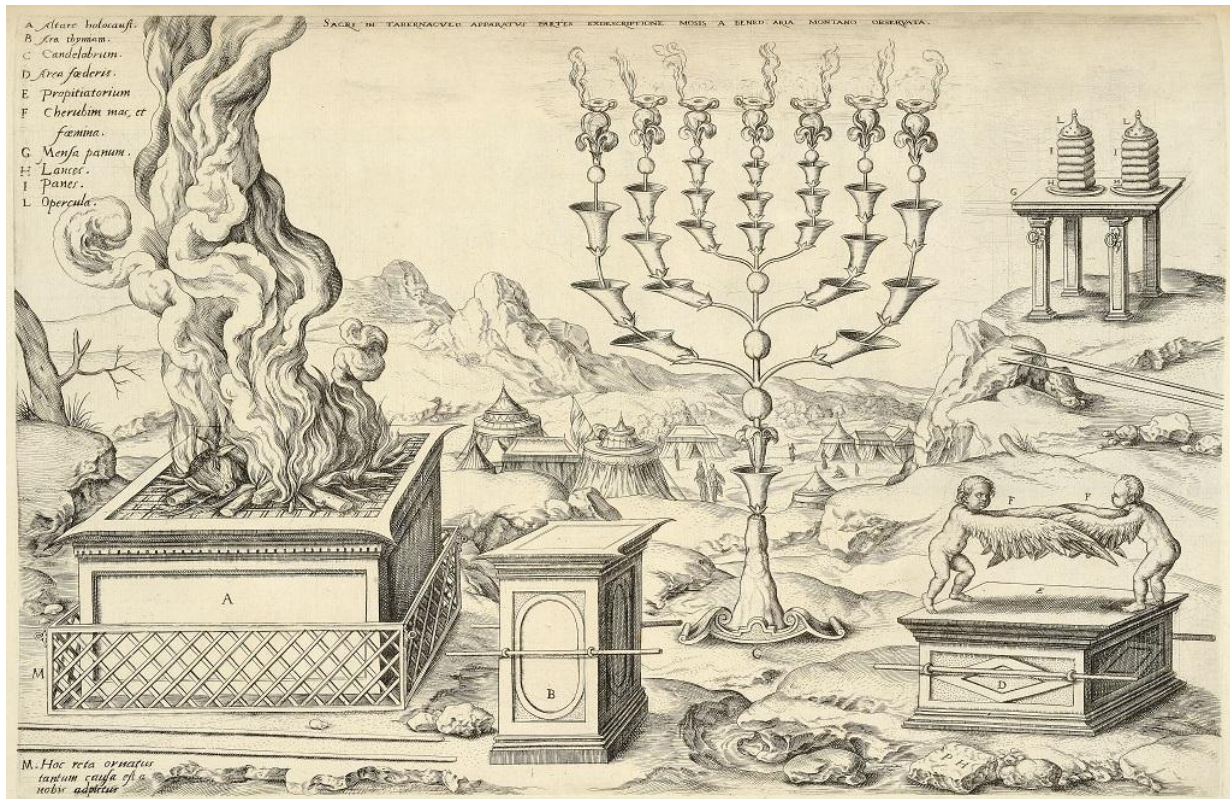


Figure 3-36. Vol. VIII, p. 32, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Candelabri, Altarium, & Arce foederis exemplum*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



Figure 3-37. Vol. VIII, p. 38. Jan Wierix after Pieter van der Borch, *Castrametationis ordo*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

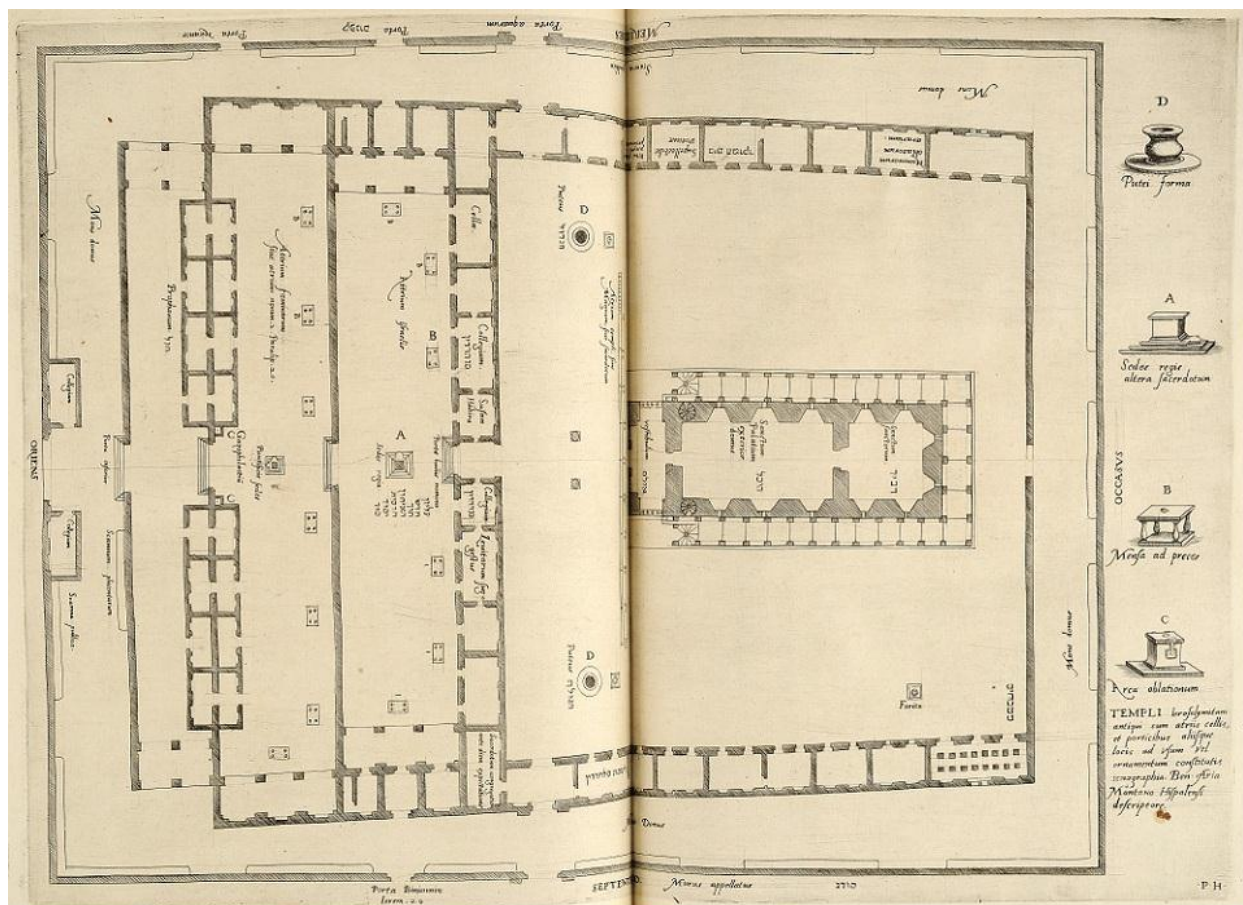


Figure 3-38. Vol. VIII, pp. 36-37, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Templi Jerosolymitani antiqui*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

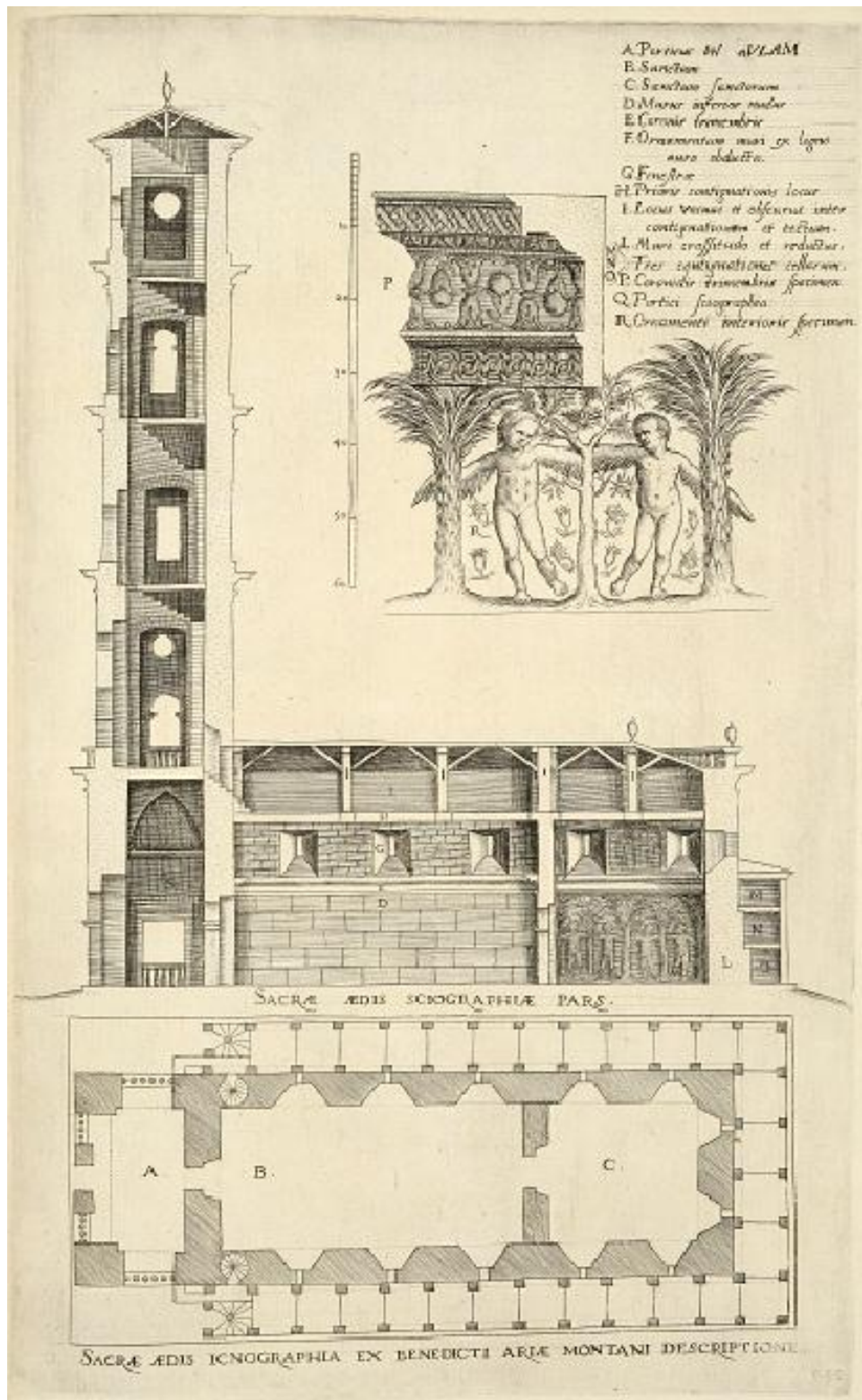


Figure 3-39. Vol. VIII, p. 39, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Sacrae aedis icnographia*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

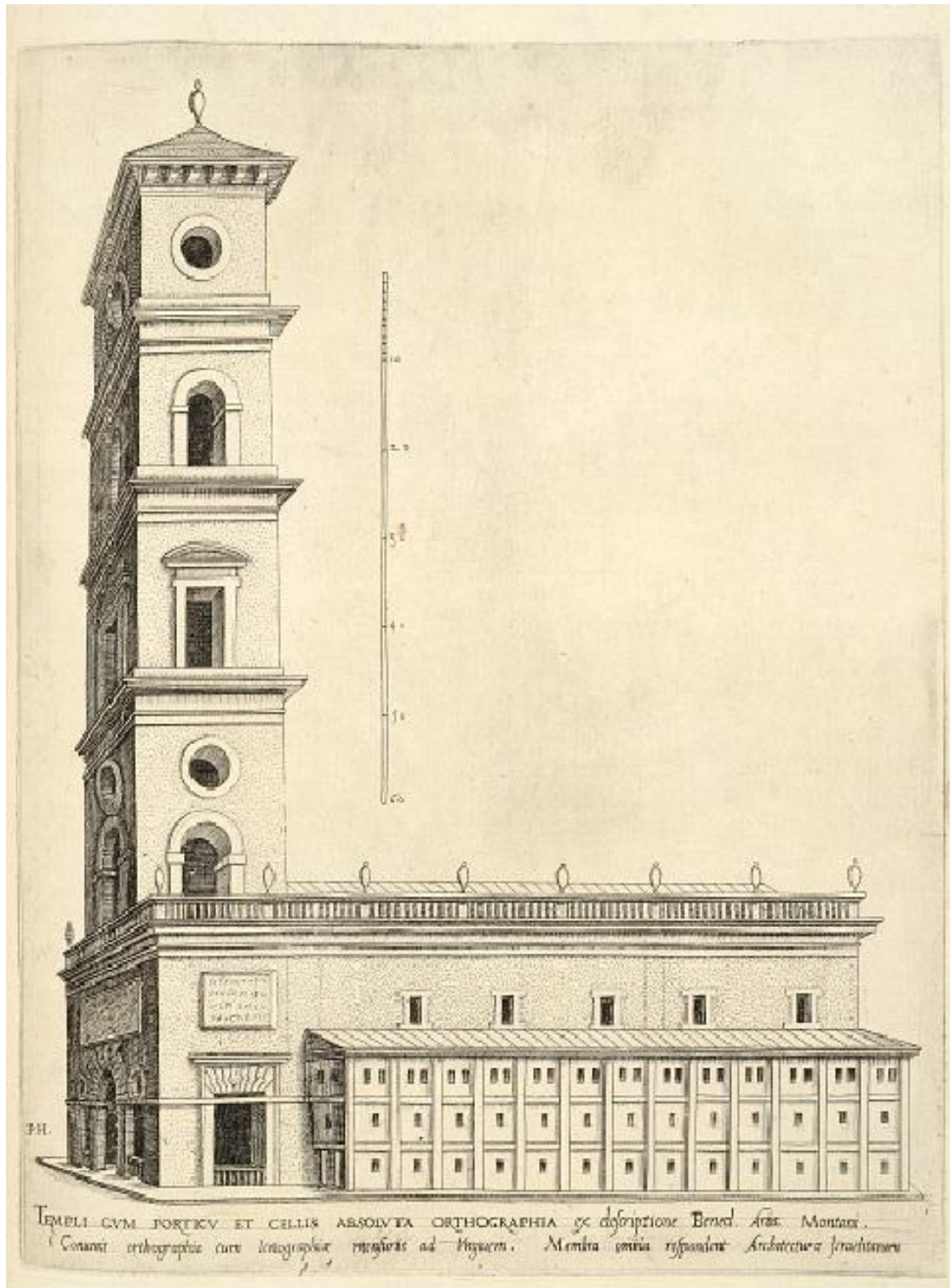
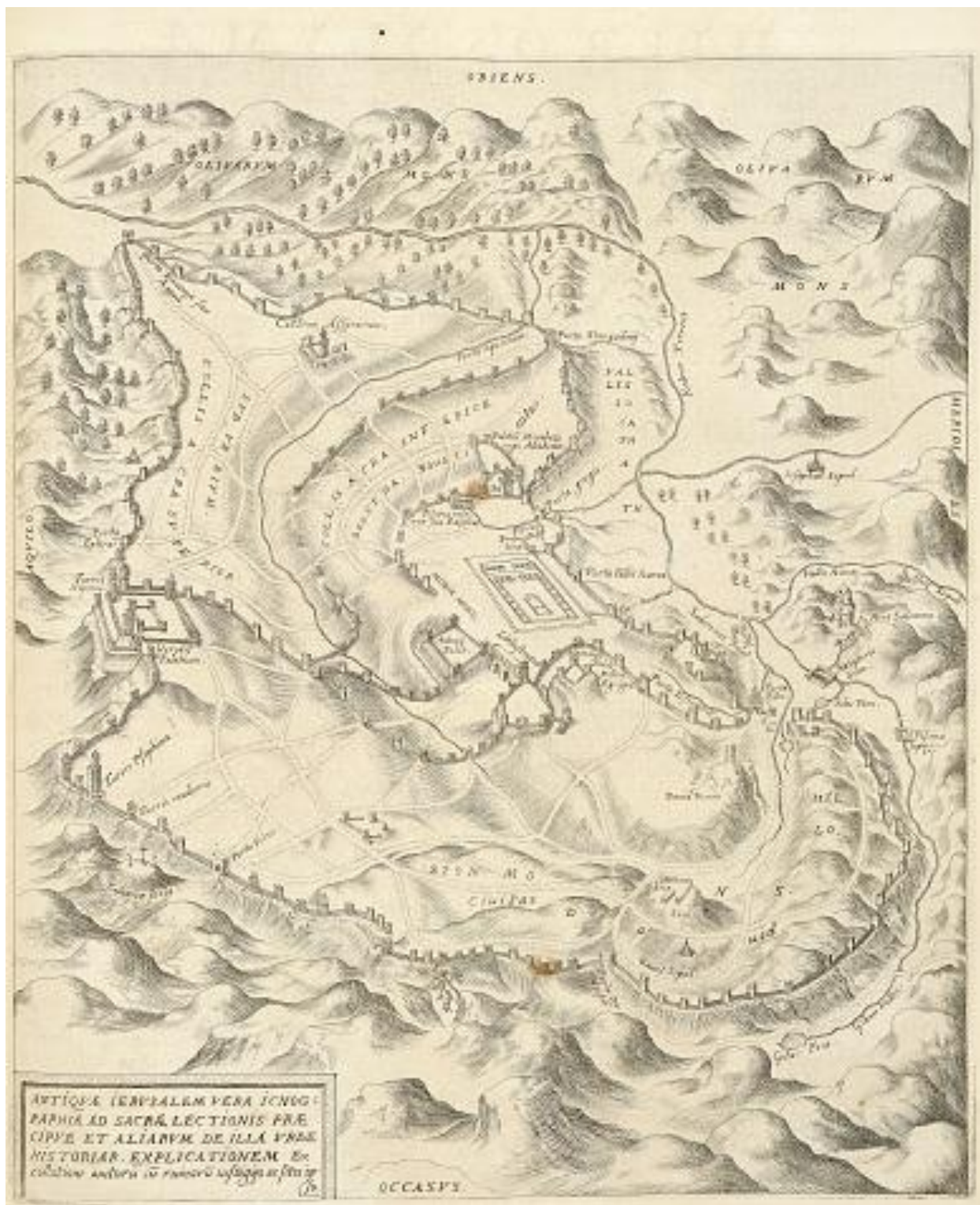


Figure 3-40. Vol. VIII, p. 41, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artis, *Templi cum porticu et cellis absoluta orthographia*, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.



Figure 3-41. Vol. VIII, p. 7, Pieter Huys after an anonymous artist, *Sacerdotis antiquae sanctis*, engraving, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572), folio 25 x 38 cm. A) *Pietas Regia* and *Sacerdotis*. Photos Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey





A

CHAPTER 4
THE NEW WORLD ‘HEBREW-INDIAN’ MAP AS A REFLECTION OF LATE
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS CROSSCURRENTS

And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand the second time to possess the remnant of his people, which shall be left from the Assyrians, and from Egypt, and from Phetros, and from Ethiopia, and from Elam, and from Sen naar, and from Emath, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up a standard unto the nations, and shall assemble the fugitives of Israel, and shall gather together the dispersed of Juda from the four quarters of the earth.

—Isaiah 11:11-12

If Philip’s primary challenge was administrating his far-flung possessions, then maintaining social order and cultural hegemony was his ultimate concern. This was no easy task given the religious crosscurrents which fell within Philip’s geographic and political purview. These cultural concerns included: The Protestant rebellion in the Netherlands; the socio-political and religious threat posed by the Turks; the heightened orthodoxy and antisemiticism promoted by the Spanish interpretation of the Tridentine council, and perhaps most importantly, the lingering questions presented by the existence of previously unknown, unbaptized populations in the Americas. When looking at an up-to-date world map, the geographically-minded Philip would have seen a summary of all these concerns.¹ Current Antwerp Polyglot Bible scholarship thus leaves lingering questions regarding its world map. First, if maps are more commonly associated with the Geneva bible, and if sixteenth-century Spanish bibles never included maps, then why does this Spanish bible feature several maps? Second, is the enigmatic inclusion of a double-hemispheric world map significant beyond its illumination of Montano’s “Phaleg” treatise in the Polyglot’s Apparatus?

¹ For an introduction to religious worldviews and mapping, see Pauline Moffitt Watts, “The European Religious Worldview and its Influence on Mapping,” *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 382-400.

To address these questions, Shalev suggests that the Polyglot maps are not actually maps in a bible.² Shalev concludes that the Polyglot's maps were a product of Montano's antiquarian sensibilities and were used to "accommodate theology and philosophy within a unified body of knowledge."³ While Melion has shown how Holy Land maps were used for vicarious pilgrimage and as meditational devices, such a paradigm cannot be applied to the Antwerp Polyglot's world map. Given its unwieldy, oversized multi-volume massiveness, it is unlikely that the Polyglot would have been propped open and used in a private meditational setting. The Polyglot *was* sponsored in part as a Spanish Catholic response to the wide circulation of Protestant vernacular bibles in the sixteenth-century northern European book market. This is a broadly-accepted theory supported by Mathijs Lamberigts, A. A. den Hollander and others.⁴ If so, this would imply that the world map, like the Polyglot itself, might incorporate some ideological agenda.

On the origin of the map and its inception in the Bible, it has been observed that it was a "conventional geographical map" of the world in circulation at the time, but no one has offered a model or exemplum.⁵ Montano was not a professional cartographer (although he did practice amateur cartography as encouraged by Ptolemy), so the world map is clearly someone else's design. We do know that Montano owned maps and studied geography as part of his formal education, which were standard cultural habits of the time. He spoke fondly of his schoolmaster Vasquez Matamoro who was an experienced traveller who made careful observations of "true

² Shalev, "Sacred Geography," 59.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mathijs Lamberigts and A. A. den Hollander, eds., *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450-1800* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006).

⁵ Shalev, "Sacred Geography," 69.

antiquities” and gave Montano maps “he drew himself.”⁶ As editor, Montano would have approved the twenty-two engraved illustrations for the Polyglot, and oversaw their production.⁷ Of the Polyglot maps, the world map is the most unusual. While Holy Land maps were more widely circulated and familiar to sixteenth-century audiences, maps of the New World, its changing outlines and exotic peoples, became a topic of popular fascination.⁸

Before the sixteenth century there were several dominant theoretical models that attempted to explain the nature of the earth’s landmasses.⁹ Along with the traditional tripartite division shown on T-O maps and *mappaemundi*, a second model theorized that the known world “was duplicated and inverted in another, antipodean, land.”¹⁰ Another theory posited that each of the four corners of the earth had equally-sized landmasses, and that knowledge of these regions was limited given the “torrid, impassable zone across the equator,” and the “barrier of the western ocean.”¹¹ In 1507, Rhenish cosmographer Martin Waldseemüller (1470-1520) added ‘America,’

⁶ From preface to “Nehemias,” in Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. VIII; Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 46.

⁷ Bowen and Imhof, 89.

⁸ There is a range of cultural and anthropological research on this subject; see for example Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991); Peter Mason, *Infelicities, Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998); Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry’s Great Voyages*, trans. Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), and J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970). For mapping the Americas, see for example Seymour I. Schwartz, *Putting “America” on the Map* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2007); Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: The British Library, 2008), and Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (Edison: Wellfleet Press, 2001)..

⁹For Amerindian and New World maps see Surekha Davies, “Representations of Amerindians on European Maps and the Construction of Ethnographic Knowledge, 1506-1624,” *Imago Mundi* 61 (2009), no. 1: 126-127; see also Davies, “America and Amerindians in Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographiae universalis libri VI* (1550),” *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011), no. 3: 351-373. Davies provides a good summary of the traditional theoretical models associated with the divisions of the earth; see Davies, 352-353. The range of excellent scholarship associated with the history of the evolution of the world map is too copious to enumerate in detail here; Shirley *Mapping of the World* remains the standard source for an introduction and survey of this cartographic material.

¹⁰ Davies, 353.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

the fourth part of the world, to his double-hemispheric map which was printed in hundreds of copies and widely circulated. Sebastian Münster, author of the best-known and most popular sixteenth-century editions of the *Cosmographia* (first published in 1544) was markedly influenced by Waldseemüller's maps, but construed the Americas as discreet islands, part of a cluster of "New Islands," not attached to Asia or geographically associated with what he believed to be the tripartite division of the world.¹² This traditional view embraced by Münster was Ptolemaic in origin, and the new world map in his *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1554) is followed by Ptolemy's well-known map of the *oikoumene*. Like many cosmographers and cartographers of his day, Münster combined "classical, medieval and contemporary authors' writings and material...collected on his travels, along with information sent by (eye witnesses)."¹³ Münster's *Cosmographia*, like most early modern cosmographies, is a work of descriptive geography, combining creation narratives with a natural history of the earth, together with mathematical and scientific theorems, physical geography, ethnography and a history of the world's peoples. Like other learned men of his day Münster believed the three *pars* of the world were populated by the sons of Noah after the flood, as described in Genesis. Surekha Davies explains, "as was often the case in cosmographical and geographical works in this period, no mention (by Münster) is made...of how the inhabitants of America fit into (the) theory of postdiluvian human diaspora."¹⁴ In other words, Münster does not explain how Amerindians arrived on the island of America. Münster includes only a "small section" on America at the end of his book on Asia, in which he describes indigenous Americans as ferocious cannibals as contrasted with the civilized people of Europe.

¹² Davies, 353.

¹³ Ibid., 353-354.

¹⁴ Ibid., 353.

Such ethnographic constructions of Amerindians were based on Aristotlian and late medieval treatises describing uncivilized, far-away peoples as either savage or monstrous.¹⁵ The contemporary reader was to conclude from Münster that Amerindians were less than human, and insignificant given their monstrous nature and non-inclusion in Genesis. As Davies points out, Münster would have been familiar with the widely-circulated letters, journals and eye-witness accounts of the conquest of Mexico and Peru; yet he does not describe the cities of Tenochtitlán and Cuzco, nor their populations, whose advanced architecture and exotic cultural habits had fascinated Europeans from the early sixteenth century. Münster was a theologian, philosopher, mathematician, Hebraist and astronomer. It is inconceivable that his description of the Amerindians was the result of either ignorance or insouciance. The explanation, as Davies argues, is in the dedication of his *Cosmographia* to Emperor Charles V, and on Charles' vested interest in the Moluccas and the spice-island trade. By sailing west the Spanish could engage in trade without breaking their treaty with the Portugese. The "New Islands" theory, associated with Asia, emphasizes the Spice Islands while limiting the geographical significance of America.¹⁶ In his section on America, Münster de-emphasizes the Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru (and its indigenous cultures) while emphasizing a model devoted to the earlier histories of the Iberian voyages of discovery.¹⁷ With America as "an archipelago from the Canaries to the Moluccas," Münster's world map support's Charles' economic and political aims associated with trade routes to the Spice Islands. I suggest Montano's world map, in a similar way, supports the

¹⁵ Davies, 126.

¹⁶ Ibid., 357. For the ways in which the Spanish-Portuguese geopolitical led to bad colonial-Indian maps, see Neil Safier, "The Confines of the Colony: Boundaries, Ethnographic Landscapes, and Imperial Cartography in Iberoamerica," in *The Imperial Map, Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 133-184.

¹⁷ Davies, 356.

political agenda of its sponsor Philip II.

The Antwerp Polyglot is encyclopedic in nature, including Montano's cosmography of the earth in four *pars*, together with an erudite and comprehensive exposition of sacred scripture, which was the primary source of cosmographic information for Christian scholars. The subject of the Antwerp Polyglot's double-hemispheric world map is the Hebrew settlements in the New World, and contemporary audiences would have made a connection between these ancient Hebrew settlements and the indigenous peoples populating the Americas. As suggested by Isaías Lerner, the origin of the New World Indians is an important theme in the Antwerp Polyglot, but he does not make a connection to the foundational scheme supported by Philip, that Spain was settled by ancient Hebrews.¹⁸ Interestingly, Montano sited ancient Hebrew settlements in the New World (numbers 19, 21 and 22) only in locations under contemporary Spanish control. Philip believed he was divinely destined to hold dominion over the New World and its indigenous peoples, and it was imperative that these populations embraced the true faith. The Spanish king described himself as the lone defender of the faith in the Christian world, and he promoted a parallel between his global empire and the universal Church. To this end, cartographically up-to-date material, which reflected the four-part division of the world and Spain's colonial territories, was essential. The Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru are delimited to the west by the Pacific Ocean, a geographic region which was less well-known c. 1570 than the Atlantic side. Ruscelli's map, which offers a good understanding of the size of the American landmasses and its Pacific coasts, presents an impressive view of Philip's territory in

¹⁸ I presented a paper on this topic well before Lerner's publication: Pamela Merrill Brekka, "Philip II's *Biblia Regia* and the New World Indian Jew," *Early American Borderlands Conference*, session, "The Trans-Atlantic Paradigm: Rethinking the Cultural History of Spanish Boerdelands in the United States," Flagler College, St. Augustine, May 2010. See Isaías Lerner, "Teorías de Indios: los orígenes de los pueblos del continente americano y la Biblia Políglota de Amberes (1568-1573)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 19 (2010): no. 2, 231-245.

the New World. Montano's updated world map would have also served to validate his esoteric treatises—to his learned audience, Montano's conclusions would have been validated by contemporary scientific observation. As indicated on the world map, note that Portugal was settled by the Hebrew tribe of Tubal, while Spain is broadly labeled "Sepharad" (which means Spain in Hebrew)—that is, Spain was settled in ancient times by Sephardic Hebrews who could be associated in Montano's time with living diasporic Spanish Jews.¹⁹

On the Polyglot's world map the three families associated with the New World are: Ophir, Jobab and Sephermos, sons of Shem—numbered on the key 19, 21 and 22. Only South America and the southwest region of North America are linked to Hebrew settlements. Montano's second Ophir or the "double Peru," the famed land of gold, is in the region of southern California, a region which some mapmakers associated with Mexico. Observe that the west coast of the North American continent is linked to Asia; this facilitated the land migration from the eastern hemisphere to the west. With the discovery of the New World it was imperative that European Christians explain the existence of a new people on this seemingly isolated land mass. As narrated in Genesis and explained by Paul: "(God) made from one (person) the whole human race to dwell on the entire surface of the earth, and he fixed the ordered seasons and the boundaries of their regions, so that people might seek God. . . ." (Acts 17) In the dedicatory inscription on the upper -left, the map is attributed to "Benedict Aria Montanus, 1571," and dedicated to King Philip the Catholic. Concerning Ophir, Montano wrote:

Ophir...carried forward his name and his race along the shores of the great abyss, and to the two regions of these lands separated by a long isthmus between; and these retained intact the name Ophir up to the times of Solomon and even afterward; but the name was shortly afterward reversed, and assigned to both portions of this region on their own; and so each part was called Pervaim or

¹⁹ As Nina Caputo has pointed out, this would have, theoretically, put Philip II in the embarrassing position of having to describe himself as a "new Christian."

Parvaim, using the pronunciation of the dual number.²⁰

The “dual number” refers to the “two Perus” or “two Americas,” that is, North and South America, “separated by a long isthmus.” Ophir’s journey from Asia was made possible, as postulated by Montano, via a land bridge between Asia and America, called the Straits of Anian.²¹ Significantly, the land of Ophir was the considered by some the legendary land of gold associated with King Solomon’s treasure.²² Shalev states, “the Ophir-Peru theory not only asserted that the Hebrews knew the world in its entirety, it also proved Philip and his Escorial to have been prefigured by Solomon and the Temple.”²³ This observation cries out for explanation, but on Philip, Solomon and the Escorial, Shalev does not elaborate. Ortelius, a friend of Montano’s, criticized Montano’s double-Peru theory. Twenty-one and twenty-two on the map’s key indicate Jobab and Sephermos, respectively. According to Montano, the family of Jobab settled near the mouth of the Amazon, and that of Sephermos, in the interior of Brazil.

In the mid-sixteenth century, New World observers such as Diego Durán (1537-1588) argued that the Amerindians were of Hebrew origin, possibly descended from Noah or the lost tribes of Israel.²⁴ Franciscan missionaries including Andrés de Olmas (1485-1571) observed that the natives of Mexico and the Yucatán had sacrificial rites and cultural customs similar to those of the ancient Hebrews. These ethnographic observations intrigued European scholars of the

²⁰ “Phaleg” in Montano, *Biblia Sacra*, Vol. VIII; see also Romm, 37.

²¹ Romm, 37.

²² For the Legend of Solomon’s Ophir see Romm, 27-29; Romm argues that the personal name and the toponym are not necessarily related.

²³ Shalev, “Sacred Geography,” 71.

²⁴ Fray Diego Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain*, ed. Doris Heyden (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 3. For a near-contemporary Jewish response to the New World ‘Hebrew-Indian’ theory, see Lynn Glaser, *Indians or Jews? To a Reprint of Manasseh Ben Israel, The Hope of Israel* (Gilroy: Roy V. Boswell, 1973).

time. For Durán proof that the Aztecs were descended from ancient Hebrews lay in the similarity of their migration stories: “they portray great periods of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, with innumerable other afflictions that they suffered until they reached this land.”²⁵ Observing first-hand the Aztecs in Mexico in 1581, Durán wrote, “Seeing that their stories are so like those found in the Holy Scriptures, I cannot help but believe that these Indians are the children of Israel.”²⁶ Durán gives his proof:

I wish to mention the rites, idolatries, and superstitions these people had. They made sacrifices in the mountains, and under trees, in dark and gloomy caves, and in the caverns of the earth. They burned incense, killed their sons and daughters, sacrificed them, and offered them as victims to their gods. They sacrificed children, ate human flesh, killed prisoners and captives of war. All of these were also Hebrew rites practiced by those ten tribes of Israel, and all were carried out with the greatest ceremony and superstitions one can imagine. What most forces me to believe that these Indians are of Hebrew descent is their strange insistence in clinging to their idolatries and superstitions, for they pay them much heed, just as their ancestors did. As David states, in Psalm 106, when the people were afflicted by God, they pleaded that He forgive them in His Mercy; but then they forgot and returned to idolatry: “They served their idols; which were a snare to them. Yea, they sacrificed their sons and daughters unto devils. And shed innocent blood...and the land was polluted with blood.”²⁷

Durán was an Indianist sensitive to Aztec culture and fluent in the *Nahuatl* language, but he believed that the Spanish had a divine obligation to show the Mexica the “True Faith in One Deity.”²⁸ In the conclusion of his *Historia*, Durán wrote that the Aztecs did ultimately embrace the true faith: “When Cortés returned...the Christian religion began to grow and the Indians took to it with love and willingness. After the Christian fathers had preached to them, they began to abandon their idols. They broke them, mocked them, stepped on them...with great

²⁵ From “The possible place of origin of the Indians of New Spain,” Durán, 5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ From “How Cortés conquered Mexico and other provinces,” Durán, 562.

fervor they begged to be baptized.”²⁹ Durán rejoiced in Aztec conversion as freedom from their “blindness,” and his contemporary Bernardino de Sahagún (c.1499-1590), likewise sought their conversion. Sahagún also saw the link between the Aztecs and ancient Hebrews, and likened the fate of the Mexican *Indios* to the Old Testament Jews. He wrote:

I shall have a people come against you I shall bring them down upon you from afar, a strong people and fierce, an ancient people skilled in war, a people whose tongue you shall not comprehend, nor shall you have ever heard the manner of their speech; in all, a strong and spirited people, lusting for the slaughter. This people shall destroy you, your wives and children, and all that you possess, and they shall destroy all your towns and (buildings). This has happened to the letter to these Indians at the hands of the Spaniards; such was their ruin and destruction and of all they possessed, that nothing is left of what they once were.³⁰

Sahagún was sympathetic to the destruction of Aztec culture, and Durán wrote that the history of the Aztecs was “worthy of remembrance.”³¹

Romm notes that Montano’s is the first known map to use detailed cartography as a means of investigating historical anthropology.³² While Romm see the significance of the mountain ranges as the only physical feature on this “otherwise purely ethnographic map,” the map *does* include other physical features, namely, rivers and coastal outlines. Some theologians had argued that the mountains scarred the earth as a reminder of sin, but Montano described mountains as topographically advantageous for the Israelite settlements, as it extended the acreage of an area vertically; mountains, he argued, also provide shade and help to regulate temperatures. While maps of this period typically include legend markers representing

²⁹ Durán, 562.

³⁰ Sahagún quoted in Miguel León-Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún, First Anthropologist*, trans. Mauricio J. Mixco (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 41.

³¹ Durán, 20.

³² James Romm, 37. A land bridge linking Asia and the Americas was not always used in maps produced around and after 1572; see for example Ortelius, 1570 and Cornelius de Jode’s *Speculum Orbis Terre* (Antwerp, 1593).

settlements, the *orbis terrae* of Montano's map implies a 'virgin' earth, cleared of its cities by the Biblical flood. The terrain on both sides of the Atlantic is almost identical in its descriptive elements. With this visual paradigm the newly discovered continents are thus incorporated into the Old World salvific plan. Indeed, a distinguishing characteristic of the Polyglot world map (as a repository of biblical information) is that it is free of cartographic markers—that is, place names, signs and settlements. Such “empty space,” one could argue, “awaits” the imperial imperative of colonialization.³³

It was imperative that Philip's plan be conceptualized cartographically in an “empty space.” Indeed Montano's theory concerning the New World natives begins with an empty virginal land, and differs from his contemporaries who argued that the Amerindians were descendants of the Lost Tribes, not the earlier sons of Noah. The Lost Tribes of the biblical narrative were ten tribes of the original twelve tribes who formed the Kingdom of Israel to the north of Judah. When this northern kingdom was conquered by the Assyrians ca. 721 BCE, the tribes were dissipated and lost. In the apocryphal Second Book of Esdras found in the Vulgate, the author writes:

The ten tribes...were led away from their own land into captivity in the days of King Hoshea, whom...the king of the Assyrians led captive. He took them across the river, and they were taken into another land. But they formed this plan for themselves: that they would leave the multitude of the nations and go to an even more distant region [2 Esdras 13:40-41].

Significantly, the *Pars Orbis* (division of the earth) on the Antwerp Polyglot's world map can be associated with the period after the flood, not the much later Exodus. The Lost Tribes are delineated in the Hebrew book of Numbers which refers to the censuses taken of the Israelites

³³ John Rennie Short, *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World* (London: Reaktion, 2009), 18.

during the Exodus. Protestant bible makers popularly used maps associated with Exodus.³⁴ For them, the Reformed Church was the new Jerusalem, freed from the bondage of sin. Contrarily, Montano emphasizes a time in Hebrew history hundreds of years earlier, before the period of slavery in Egypt. The Montano world map presents a topographically virginal period, free of settlements. Rather than looking *toward* the promised land of Canaan, the Montano map looks back to the *new* prelapsarian period—an earth after the flood—free of sin and corruption. In this regard, the theology of Montano’s map and its “empty space” is distinctly Catholic, not Protestant. It also ties the purifying effects of the deluge to the sacramental cleansing of baptism—an important theme in the Polyglot.

The first known map in a bible was included in a 1525 Lutheran translation of the Old Testament, by the Reformed printer Christopher Froschauer of Zürich.³⁵ The subject of the map in Froschauer’s Bible is the Exodus, a popular theme among Reformers, as the movement from “bondage to salvation” was used as a metaphor for Church reform.³⁶ Hebrew scripture, with its focus on migration and settlement, lends itself naturally to cartographic concerns, and the Paul narrative of the Christian bible, like its Hebrew forebears, reads like a travelogue. In the eyes of the Spanish crown, contemporary Jewish “migration,” that is their expulsion from Spain, Portugal and elsewhere, was justified by their providential and consummate movement as highlighted in scripture. The interest of Philip’s government in preserving orthodoxy among *conversos* of Europe can likewise be associated with his desire to promote and preserve the true

³⁴ Delano-Smith and Ingram, XXIII.

³⁵ The map is a reduced copy after Lucas Cranach; see Delano-Smith and Ingram, 25-37.

³⁶ “Members of Reformed churches thought of themselves as the new Israelites,” see Delano-Smith and Ingram, XXIV; maps of Canaan also became a popular Old Testament illustration in Bibles; see *ibid.* 53-70.

faith in the New World.³⁷ For Christian Europeans, the idea of the ‘Hebrew-Indian’ was a valid cultural phenomenon they would have associated with contemporary Jews. By 1570 many European centers had expelled their Jewish communities, and most Spaniards had never met or seen a professed Jew. To make matters worse, the word “Jew” and “Indian” were synonymous in most printed texts.³⁸ The word “Indio” or “Indian” was commonly printed “IUDIO” in Latin. This word was confused with the printed word for “Jew” in Latin, which is “Judio” printed “IUDIO.” In the minds of many European Christians, the Indian and the Jew were one in the same. There was a general understanding among sixteenth-century learned Europeans that the Amerindians were descended from the ancient Hebrews, and these ideas were corroborated by accounts given by New World observers. It was witnessed, for example, that penile auto-sacrifice was not unlike the Jewish rite of circumcision. It was also noted that the Aztecs blew shell horns as part of the temple sacrifice, just as the ancient Hebrews used shofars³⁹ While the ‘Hebrew-Indian’ theory was widely accepted, the details of Hebrew migration to the New World remained unclear. On this question Romm asks, “How, scholars and clerics wondered, had one of Noah’s descendants traveled into the New World so as to fill it with his offspring? And from which line had that ancient colonist come...Japeth, Ham or Shem?”⁴⁰ This was a pressing issue that Montano may have attempted to resolve, and then visualize, on the world map. Without it,

³⁷ For more on early modern Spanish *conversos* and what Norman Roth describes as the *converso* “myth,” see Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); see also Kruger, “Staying Jewish? Public Disputation, Conversion, and Resistance,” in *Spectral Jew*, 163-207.

³⁸ See Judith Laikin Elkin, *Imagining Idolatry: Missionaries, Indians and Jews* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1992).

³⁹ Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (South Bend: Notre Dame, 2004), 68-69.

⁴⁰ Romm, 34.

the whole of the Judeo-Christian salvation narrative—and by association, the Spanish Crown and its policies—would collapse.

Notions of empire are seen throughout the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, and the world map is best understood within the context of the Polyglot's entire visual/textual program. Plantin explains the image of *Pietas Regia* (Fig. 3-2) for example, as “determined by Arias Montano in order to demonstrate the piety of King Philip and his fervor for the Catholic faith.”⁴¹ Philip unites the nations in light of the “true religion.” To achieve this, baptism was an imperial necessity, particularly for the Jews, whose ancestors, according to Philip, settled Iberia in ancient times. The New World natives, as reflected on Montano's map, were conceived of as Jews rather than savages and thus required baptism rather than extinction. There was a theological controversy at the time over the value of evangelizing Indians. If they were less than human, they had no hope of salvation and should be exterminated. In this cultural context baptism took on a new significance. New World accounts reported that millions of Mexicans had received the sacrament by 1550. The *Baptism of Christ* (Fig. 3-21) frontispiece of the Polyglot's New Testament in volume five marks the physical center of the eight volumes, literally the bridge between Old and New Testaments. Under different circumstances the Baptism of Christ would have been an unusual choice as a visual summary of the Christian salvation narrative. In the context of the Polyglot, the choice of subject is ideal. The image of Christ's baptism supported the Roman church's great antiquity by its close association with ancient Judaism. For Philip, defender of the faith and King of Jerusalem, baptism also presented the link between Jew and Christian, the Old Testament and the New. The link between Old World Hebrew and New World Native was also politically expedient. New Spain and Peru, as “accessory” dominions

⁴¹ Bowen and Imhof, 89.

rather than *aeques principaliter*, were intended to mirror the administrative structure and social composition of Spain. As a dominion of converts, the baptized Hebrew-Indian ideally served this purpose

Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) embraced and promoted the biblical significance of his Atlantic crossing—that the Old Testament prophets foretold *his* voyage of discovery.⁴² To Columbus, the New World was best understood within the context of scripture, and the historical “scheme of a Divine Providence that had determined the fate of humankind from the moment of its creation.”⁴³ From the point of view of the Spanish crown, the Americas were a new Eden, and the Indians were biblical children of God—a family of Hebrews—who, like the Jews of Europe, were central to God’s salvific plan, and called to conversion. Philip, King of Jerusalem, saw himself as the great defender of faith against Christianity’s largest threats, the Ottoman Turks and the Protestant Reformers. His goal was to utilize the “true” faith, centered in Madrid, the new Jerusalem, as a means to unite and maintain his leggy, rebellious web of dominions. Maps, as potentially sophisticated visual repositories of geopolitical and religious truth, served the king to achieve this end. Philip was indeed the premiere European patron of cartographers after 1550 and his maps were “animated by politics and ideology.”⁴⁴ The great irony, of course, is that during this period of unprecedented antisemitism in Spain, Philip used ancient Judaism as a means of uniting his confessionally-troubled double-hemispheric Christian empire. In this context, the Polyglot’s New World ‘Hebrew-Indian’ map can be interpreted as an imperial map, and as a reflection of Philip’s empire, it is best defined by its religious crosscurrents.

⁴² From Columbus’s *Libro de las profecias* reprinted in Romm, 33.

⁴³ Romm, 33.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION: LEGACY AND SHIFTING ENGAGEMENT/DECONSTRUCTING THE
POLYGLOT

I am sending a letter to Zayas to be forwarded to you, but I foresee that the difficulties of the general situation may prevent the bundles arriving quickly. Indeed I notice that this year several are missing. I hardly dare continue sending bundles of books to Zayas, because I know that this year several sent to you at his address are missing. Likewise I fear that sometimes they are held back by those to whom they have been given for dispatch.

—Christopher Plantin¹

If the Polyglot is a reflection of Philip's cosmography defined by late sixteenth-century religious crosscurrents, then Plantin's workshop and the Polyglot collaborators served as a microcosm of that universe. Philip attempted to use cartographic language in order to define and effectively administrate his global empire, which comprised a confessionally diverse population. The effectiveness of Philip's administrative approach is open to scholarly debate, and the Polyglot's legacy is problematic and difficult to define.

In 1574 the Polyglot's orthodoxy became the subject of vigorous opposition in Spain. León de Castro, a staunch "rigorist," launched a vicious campaign against Montano and the Polyglot Bible. His goal was to have the Inquisitor courts ban the Polyglot. The matter was ultimately presented to Rome, and in 1576 the *Congregatio Concilii* concluded that had the bible not already gone to press, they would have condemned it without hesitation.² Montano was criticized for collaborating with rabbis on matters of Hebrew scripture, and, indeed, "his broad view of bible scholarship (tended to) favor rabbinical ideas above those of the Christian Church Fathers."³ Philip responded to the complaints against the Polyglot in a letter to the Duke of

¹ Plantin to Montano in a letter dated November 27, 1587, *Correspondance de Plantin*, eds. Max Rooses and J. Manuel Denucé (Antwerp, 1883-1914), VIII, no. 1328; Rekers, 153.

² Rekers, 60-61.

³ Van der Heide, 90.

Alba: “I believe that (Montano) will be able to explain the manner in such a way as will put an end to any doubts.”⁴ After being called to Rome to defend the Polyglot, Montano sent a report to Philip in which he complained that his detractors were generally ignorant; thought the Talmud was a man; were illiterate in Hebrew and therefore “unable to understand the work.”⁵ Gregory XIII referred the matter to the Spanish Inquisition, and the case was given to the Jesuit Juan de Mariana. Mariana ultimately approved the Polyglot’s circulation, but with reservations. He concluded that Montano quoted too freely from Jewish commentaries; should not have permitted Masius’ Chaldaic paraphrase as it was wholly rabbinical, and in general, concluded that the “King had derived little honour from connecting his Royal name with this Bible.”⁶ In general, Montano was criticized for deviating too much from the Complutensian, relying too heavily on the authority of rabbis and heretics, and not showing enough respect for the Vulgate.⁷

Montano’s published works were ultimately banned for a short time, and the Polyglot’s Apparatus was excluded from the Catholic privilege in 1576. Deemed unorthodox, the Apparatus was in some cases separated from the Polyglot’s bible proper, that is, the first five volumes. Raphelegius, a Calvinist convert, published the Apparatus in 1593 as a separate work, the *Antiquitatum Judaicarum libri IX*, which he construed as an exegetical exercise in biblical literalism.⁸ With this shifting reviewership, the Apparatus came to be seen as a kind of appendix to the Polyglot—a separate, appended work. The Polyglot edition in the Harry Ransom Center

⁴ Letter dated March 17, 1572; Carvajal, no. 40; Rekers, 56.

⁵ Letter dated December 18, 1572; *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Vol. 41 (Madrid, 1842-1895), 272.

⁶ Mariana to the Tribunal of the Inquisition in a letter dated August 16, 1577, in Georgius Cirot, *Mariana historien*, (Paris, 1905), 399; Rekers, 62-63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸ Leyden: Raphelengius, 1593.

(University of Texas at Austin), for example, is a conflation of volumes one through five from one original copy of the Polyglot combined with volumes six through eight from another.⁹ Such mix-and-match groupings occurred over time as the Apparatus was variously removed, then reunited with, Polyglot editions. Although Montano's Apparatus has sometimes been treated as a separate work, it was so necessary a compendium to the Polyglot's original purpose. It should not be seen as *copia scholia* or as an appendix to the Polyglot's *Biblia sacra*. Montano emphasized the importance of the Polyglot in proselytizing living audiences, and the Apparatus dictionaries were necessary, Montano argued, in order to read the original languages.

Sixteenth-century theologians were preoccupied with issues concerning the "true" scriptural texts, as was Montano. Rome, too, was aware of the Vulgate's imperfections, but feared multiple new translations.¹⁰ There were political forces in play, as we have seen, that required the Polyglot be "authentically" Hebrew without being "too" Jewish. By 1576 Montano

⁹ This information is based on the Ransom's accession records. The Polyglot has been deconstructed in other ways. In editions of the Polyglot currently held by the Pitts, the world map has been entirely removed. The *Orbis Tabula* is indicated in the table of contents in volume I (*Sacri Apparatus Partium Series Compactiribus*) but is not present in the edition. These presumably expunged world maps are seen elsewhere in framed map collections. Such was the case in a 2010 map exhibit at the Princeton University Firestone Library: *Envisioning the World, the First Printed Maps, 1472-1700*. Here, a framed original copy of Montano's world map is compared to other world maps of the period—its original context completely lost. The Pitts has also been rebound, with major sections and illustrations repositioned out of order. The *Baptism of Christ*, for example, is now the frontispiece of volume eight; its meaning in this location is profoundly altered. The Pitts edition also has copious marginal handwritten gloss in the prefaces with impassioned corrections to Montano's Latin grammar and declensions. This copy was owned by a member of the Zwinger family, possibly the encyclopedist Theodor Zwinger (1533-1588). His name is inscribed in the inside cover of volume one. This edition has hand-colored illustrations, but the polychrome is not consistently applied to all the illustrations, which were hand dipped and accented in gold and silver, perhaps to mimic Carolingian manuscript illumination, as Walter Melion has suggested to me. Zwinger's grandson Theodor the younger was a medical doctor who was well-known for his hand-colored botanical woodcuts. The pages of the Pitts edition may have been removed in order to be dipped and colored, which may account for its disordered rebinding. The world map could have been removed at that time, but it is difficult to know with certainty. The Zwingers were members of the Reformed church, so if Philip's Polyglot was seen as a reflection of his Tridentine orthodoxy, then the Zwingers would have had no qualms about reordering the illustrations. The Apparatus maps and illustrations have appeared in other contexts as well. They are presented in fresco on the walls of the San Giovanni Monastery library, Parma. While further research is needed, it is important to note in a cursory way the strong political ties between the Spanish Netherlands and Parma in the sixteenth century. Margaret, Duchess of Parma (1522-1586) was Philip's half sister and Governor of the Netherlands during Philip's reign.⁹ Margaret's son, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, fought the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands and became Governor General in 1586.

¹⁰ Rekers, 65.

yearned for a return to his quiet life as an academic, away from the royal court and politics. He wrote to his friend Ortelius that he missed his learned friends in Belgium, but longed for the “sweetness of life as a private citizen.”¹¹ Yet he remained a favorite of the king and was called back to the Escorial to serve as Philip’s court librarian. The study of Hebrew was ultimately encouraged by the crown, and a college for biblical scholarship was founded at the Escorial in the late sixteenth century.¹²

Montano praised the Polyglot for the great glory and fame it would bring to the Spanish crown. The Polyglot’s visual program, staged across all eight volumes and intended to be viewed in relation to one another, functioned to promote Philip’s authority and Catholic Spanish orthodoxy. In facilitating the construction of a Hebrew patrimony from Spain, Montano’s academic rigour and Hebraism complemented the political ambitions of his sovereign. But this was a delicate and complex balance of interests during a culturally challenged and geopolitically complex period in history. After the deaths of its editor, patron and printer, the Polyglot’s altered reception was associated with its new audiences.

In cases where the unorthodox Apparatus was removed, the Polyglot existed simply as a multi-language *Biblia sacra* in five volumes. Such an abstracted edition may have been owned by the seventeenth-century scholar Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. The Polyglot is shown in a portrait

¹¹ Letter dated February 28, 1576: Vix credi potest, mi Orтели, quam artis charitatis vinculis tibi tuique similibus devinctus sim, quibus eo gravius premor quo longius a vobis absum, et quantum video ipsa temporis diturnitate et nodos angustiores fieri et me dolori ferendo minus fortem reddi sentio . . . Nam quamquam hic inter amicos esse possim et viros doctos et mei studiosos, quibus me plurimum debere fateor, tamen necio profecto quonam pacto quod vobis caream omni vitae suavitate privatus mihi esse videar . . . Huius rei causa nihil aliud quam privatam vitam et ab omni externo negotio alienam cupio et opto et curo atque omnis in hoc sum ideoque quantum possum contendo liberari ab officiis aulicis ut si id impetrare possim quam primum me vobis hoc est mihi reddam. Ideoque hactenus meum in Hispania miter quamquam saepius vocatus distuli . . . Hoc meum consilium tibi commissum non multis aperies etiam ex nostratibus Belgis, Hispanorum autem nulli, ne magis etiam impediatur. Habeo namque interturbatores et experior praecipue Hispano amicos et cogatos ac propinquos qui me apud se esse percipiunt et ne mihi copia meorum votorum ulla fiat, apud regem intercedunt pertinacissime. *Epistolae Oretlianae*, ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1887).

¹² Further research is required to determine the nature of Hebrew studies offered at the Escorial; Rekers, 66.

of the nun (Miguel Cabrera, 1750, *Museo Nacional*, Mexico City), with her classical library as the setting. The Polyglot “which entered history as the *Biblia de Montano*,” is shown on the shelf to Sor Juanita’s right. It is labeled on the edition’s spine *Biblia Montana*—but only in five volumes.¹³ As Rogelio Ruiz Gomar has pointed out, the Polyglot was one of the books that “circulated in the intellectual circles of New Spain,” but it is difficult to know with any certainty if Sor Juanita actually owned it.¹⁴ What *is* significant is that King Philip II’s royal polyglot would have been commonly known in eighteenth-century Spanish-Catholic American collections as an abstracted five-volume work. As a reflection of late sixteenth-century religious crosscurrents, the *Biblia regia* entered history and thus stood—like the New World ‘Hebrew-Indian’—between space, between time, and “between the orthodoxies.”

¹³ Rekers, 54.

¹⁴ Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*, exhib. cat. Denver Art Museum (Denver: Denver University Press, 2004), 210.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Pamela Merrill Brekka received her BA in history from the University of Tampa and her MA in art history from Rutgers University, New Brunswick, where she was advised by Mariët Westermann. She has completed internships at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and the Thomas J. Walsh Art Gallery, Fairfield University. Ms. Brekka has taught art history as the instructor-of-record at The University of Tampa, University of South Florida and University of Florida. She is a Newberry Library Fellow and University Women's Club Scholar, University of Florida. Ms. Brekka has received special training in infrared reflectography under the guidance of Molly Faries in a workshop hosted by the Princeton University Art Museum. She has completed London Rare Book School's program in the history of maps and mapping taught by Catherine Delano-Smith. Ms. Brekka also has a certificate in arts administration from New York University. Her research interests include early Netherlandish art; Dutch art; the history of Jewish art; Renaissance maps, and the Jewish construct in early modern Europe. Ms. Brekka is the proud mother of two amazing children and lives full-time in Florida.